

Chapter
IX.
1851.

It was truly a great proof, in one of his up-bringing, of the strength of his convictions, as well as of the chivalry of his nature.

About this time the Maharajah brought to Mrs. Login a very queer-looking brass idol, asking her to take it out of his sight, as he did not want to see it, now that he had given up praying to it. He added, with a smile, "If it had been of gold or silver it would not have been left so long; but it is the only one left now, all the valuable ones have disappeared one after another as they saw I despised them; but they are welcome to them." This same misshapen object of worship is still treasured as a relic of past days.

Duleep Singh was anxious to prove that he was no longer a Sikh, by cutting off the long tress of hair which he, in common with all Sikhs, wore twisted up into a ball above the brow, and covered with the bright coloured under-turban. This he thought would make him more like his English boy companions; and it was much against his will that he was persuaded by Login to defer the shearing of his locks until he had been, for at least a year, under probation. When at length his hair was allowed to be cut off, and he brought it to Mrs. Login as a memento, it was long and abundant as a woman's.

By his own request, he, with several of his people, was present at the baptism of Login's little son; though he was much disappointed at not being allowed

to stand proxy for Sir Henry Lawrence, who was god-father. He did not think it need matter that he was not yet baptized himself!

Chapter
IX.
1851.

He was greatly delighted at the prospect of spending the hot weather at Mussoorie, and the preceding cold weather in visiting Agra and Delhi.



CHAPTER X.

THE BAPTISM.

Chapter X.
1852-54. THE camp of the young Sikh Maharajah was an object of great interest, both to Europeans and natives, at the various stations it passed through. It formed, in effect, a very pretty picture, with its red-and-white striped tents pitched in the form of a quadrangle, and its tent-poles, encased in silver, glittering in the sun. The two largest tents, intended for the use of His Highness and his Governor, stood opposite to one another, and were connected by wide *semianas*, or awnings, forming a favourite lounging-place for the occupants during the hot hours of the day. There was a double set of these tents, which made "marching" an altogether luxurious mode of proceeding. The party were enabled, by this means, to start in the morning, leaving the one set in which they had passed the night still standing on the ground, while after a pleasant ride of nine or ten miles they found a duplicate encampment all ready for them, with breakfast prepared, and awaiting their arrival.

The favourite occupation in the afternoon, in camp,

was to inspect the horses, and see them groomed and fed ; to walk down the lines where they all stood in perfect order, picketed with head-and-heel ropes, and to feed them with pieces of sugar-cane provided for the purpose, which they looked for with the greatest eagerness.

The elephants, too, had to receive a visit, and be offered biscuits and lumps of sugar. One of these animals was particularly docile, and constantly to be found acting nurse to its *mahout's* baby, which lay asleep between its huge fore-feet. It was curious to watch the great beast gently fanning the child, and brushing away the flies from its face with a branch it had broken off the nearest tree, and which it held with its trunk ; while with its funny little eyes it meantime kept a sharp look-out on the fast accumulating pile of enormous *chupatties*, which the child's parents were engaged in baking, and which it knew well were destined for its own supper. Sometimes, if wakeful and lively, the baby would crawl away a little distance from its guardian, but the latter—aware that its allowance of *chupatties* depended on its attention to its duties as nursery-maid—would never allow the little one to get beyond reach, but lifted it back to its former position with its trunk in the gentlest manner possible.

A fine flock of goats which accompanied the camp, and were brought up to the tents night and morning to be milked, were a great attraction to the boys, and

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

were especial pets of Tommy Scott, who liked nothing better than to get his companions to go with him exploring the villages adjacent to the encampment, in search of handsome specimens to add to the number. By the time the march was over, this flock had consequently attained considerable proportions.

The villagers showed great eagerness to see the Sikh Maharajah, but were always perfectly civil and respectful. Beggars were kept at a distance, but as it was only right that the poor of the districts through which he passed should benefit, a sum of money was sent, in the Maharajah's name, to the civil magistrate, or other authority, for distribution among deserving cases.

The number of followers with even a small camp is astonishing, as each hanger-on is accompanied by his whole family. The encampment, therefore, presented a lively, bustling aspect in the evenings, when all were assembled round the various camp-fires, chattering and cooking the last meal, before rolling themselves up for the night.

One evening, after dark, a tremendous uproar was heard in camp, and every one rushed out to see what was the matter. The word was passed from mouth to mouth that a grass-cutter's child had just been carried off by a wolf out of its mother's arms! Parties were sent in all directions, and a strict search made all night, with no result; but at day-dawn, in a neighbouring gully, the skull of the child was found—picked clean!

The mother had been sitting at the fire baking *chupatties*, with the infant in her lap, when the wolf, taking advantage of the darkness, came up behind her, put his head over her shoulder, and seized the infant. It was only the shriek of her opposite neighbour, who saw the deed, that told her what had happened.

Next day it was pitiful to see the poor mother trudging along, as before, among her companions, with all her household goods on her head, but *without* the child, whom she had been wont to carry also, seated astride on her hip.

For some time after this incident there were perpetual wolf-scares in the encampment; on one occasion the whole camp was upset in the middle of the night by Mrs. Login's English nurse, who declared positively that the Maharajah and Shahzadah had been eaten up in their beds by a *pack of wolves*, for she had seen several looking out of the door of their tent, and licking their lips! It was some little time before the wolves in question were identified as a *pack of greyhounds* belonging to His Highness, which he, in his eagerness to go out coursing early the next morning, had privately ordered to be brought before dawn into the outer division of his tent. Seen in the faint light, under the circumstances, the woman's mistake might be excused.

The Maharajah made a great many purchases from the Delhi jewellers, who brought their tempting wares

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

to the camp, and not caring to part with his treasures to the care of the Toshkhana that evening, he begged Mrs. Login to keep them for him till morning. She felt rather nervous at the charge, as some of the rings, &c., were of considerable value ; but, knowing that the sentries were very alert, she agreed, and placed the articles in her dressing-case, which she put under her *charpoy*. Before getting into bed, she unfastened the long chain of her little black-and-tan terrier from the leg of the *charpoy*, and passed it through the strap of her dressing-case. She was awakened by a succession of noises—violent barking, shouts, musket shots, and a sudden yell, followed by a great commotion ! Her first thought was for the dressing-case—it was gone ! but there stood the dog, frantic with rage, tugging furiously at one end of his chain, the other being in some mysterious manner passed out under the tent, outside which the box lay safe on the ground. She soon knew that a robbery had been attempted, but the thief had been foiled, and had made his escape, after dropping his prize on discovering its unexpected pendant ! He had effected his noiseless entrance by crawling under the tightly pegged tent ; the faint light burning showed him the dressing-case, but *not* the small dog coiled at a distance from it. He had a very narrow escape, for, on rising to his feet, outside the tent, he fell over a servant sleeping there, who made a grasp at him ; but the miscreant had so plentifully anointed his naked body with oil, that he slipped through

the hands of the other like a fish. He did not, however, escape unscathed, for drops of blood for some distance on the ground showed that the sentry's shot had wounded him.

At Agra, the Maharajah was the guest of Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. As His Highness was travelling privately, by his own request, no salutes were fired, but every attention was paid him by the chief military and civil authorities. Here he paid a visit to the Taj and the Fort, but took most interest in the electric telegraph, and the printing and type foundry at Secundra, five miles from Agra, which he visited twice. A breakfast was given in his honour by the English community in the *Taj* itself!

The rich jewellers' shops in Delhi were a great attraction to Duleep Singh, far more so even than the Jumna Musjid, or the Palace of the Moguls. He was but a boy after all, and took more delight in the divers at the great tank than in any historical building, however magnificent.

Meerut and Roorkee, the head-quarters of the Ganges Canal Works, under Proby Cautley, were reached in due time; here Tom Login took him, for the first time, on a railroad down to the works.

Being anxious to have a peep at the famed Hurdwar, sacred to all Hindoos, arrangements were made for his doing so *incognito*, the number of devotees from the Punjab, and of pilgrims from all parts, being so great that

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

Chapter the authorities feared a demonstration. The carriages
X. and escort were, therefore, sent in one direction, as a
1852-54. decoy to the multitude, while the Maharajah made a
hurried visit to the Ghâts on an elephant. He was
only recognized, when leaving, by a crowd of his
former subjects, who surrounded his elephant, hailing
him with enthusiasm.

Heavy rains having now set in, a rapid march was
made to Deyra Dhoon, where he encamped for some
time before proceeding up to Mussoorie, his escort
remaining below at Deyra, the "lines" of the
Governor-General's bodyguard there being made
over to them.

As the object of Duleep Singh's temporary residence
in the hills was to enable him to pursue his studies
more effectually, Login did not consider it advisable
that he should have his mind distracted by the gaieties
usually going on there. He therefore turned a deaf
ear to the numerous applications for aid in getting up
races, theatricals, balls, &c. . . . But feeling it right
to do all he could for the social enjoyment and pleasure
of the community, he endeavoured to promote pleasant
out-door meetings, such as picnics, cricket matches, and
archery meetings, by giving handsome prizes on the
latter occasions, providing a good band to play on the
Mall, giving frequent musical parties, prizes to the
boys' school, getting up a museum of natural history,
&c.; during the second visit of His Highness to
Mussoorie, he also arranged a series of twenty lectures

on various subjects,* to be given by qualified lecturers (many of them officers in the service). The small fee for each (fifty rupees), given by His Highness, was almost invariably applied by the lecturer to some useful object, such as enlargement of the church, library, or dispensary, thus benefiting the station generally. These lectures were much enjoyed by Duleep Singh.

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

At one of the picnics given at a favourite spring near Mussoorie the cloth was spread on the only piece of level ground on the face of the *khud*, but it did not lie very smooth, as the grass beneath was rough and tussocky. When the guests were seating themselves, and joking over the inequalities of their board, sudden consternation was excited by a wriggling motion under the cloth,—“*Samph ! Samph !*” † shouted the natives, and a stampede took place. Then ensued a furious attack on the table-cloth and dishes, with walking-sticks and *latties* borrowed from the *jampanees*; when a full-grown cobra made its appearance from under the cloth, hissing furiously in a last effort to raise its head to strike. At this moment, a well-directed

* LIST OF LECTURES:—

Astronomy (3).	Chemistry.
Fine Arts.	Electricity.
Meteorology.	Ancient History of India.
Natural Philosophy.	Zoology of Himalayas.
Natural History.	Peculiarities of English Language.
Natural Theology.	Literature of the Present Day.
Habits of Bees.	Botany.
Comets.	

† Snake.



Chapter blow from Bhajun Lal broke its neck. Suspended
X. in triumph from the branch of a tree, it was found to
1852-54. measure many feet in length, and was an object of great
curiosity and awe to the children of the party!

The snake had been fast asleep in one of the hollows of the ground, and was only awakened to a sense of his novel position by the sound of voices, and by a large salad-bowl being suddenly deposited on his head! It said a good deal for the nerves of the ladies that they were persuaded to sit down again, and lunch on what could be collected of the feast from the *débris*; but the meal did not lack gaiety, for all reserve and formality had been put to flight. Duleep Singh and his companions, proud of their own prowess, made a great parade of their *latties*, which they kept in their hands ready for future emergencies.

Correspondence between the GOVERNOR-GENERAL and J. S. LOGIN.

MUSSOORIE, May 10th, 1852.

MY LORD,

At the request of His Highness, I beg to forward the enclosed note. I am happy to say that the Maharajah's portrait has at last been finished by Mr. Beechey, and that it has been despatched to Calcutta; your Lordship will, I hope, be able to gratify His Highness's wish to possess your portrait, when a favourable opportunity occurs.

I am glad to say that the Maharajah continues to enjoy his residence in the hills greatly. I have availed myself of the opportunity of getting a drawing-master and music-master to give

him lessons, and he really makes good progress. He now speaks English with fluency, and much more correctly, and with better pronunciation, than natives of Central India generally. He takes great pleasure in the society of English boys, of whom a few come every Saturday from Mr. Maddock's school to join him at play, and I have also been able to secure him constant companions in the two sons of Major Boileau, of the Artillery, who come to study Urdu with him. They have just arrived from England; and as they are very intelligent lads of fifteen and sixteen, who appear to have been carefully educated, and are very diligent and attentive to their Urdu studies, I have little doubt that their example will be in every way beneficial to His Highness.

Chapte
X.
1852-54

From all that I have seen of the Maharajah's disposition, I am the more satisfied as to the great advantage and stimulus of example in his case. His disposition is naturally indolent, and nothing but his strong good sense, and his desire to be on an equality in knowledge and accomplishments with lads of his own age, enables him to overcome the natural slothfulness of his character. It is on this account that I am so anxious that he should be permitted to visit England, as he so earnestly desires it, while he is young, and while he can have an opportunity of mixing with lads of his own age, and incur less risk of being spoiled by too great attention.

As His Highness's residence is at some distance from Mussoorie, he lives as quiet and retired a life as he did at Futtehghur, enjoying, however, all the advantages of the delightful climate, and the active out-door exercise which it enables him to take. I have been able to clear a sufficient level space for a playground on the Manor House estate, so as to admit of his playing cricket, in which he takes great delight. Having overcome the difficulty of reading English, he now takes much more pleasure in his lessons, and makes greater progress. On the subject of his desire to be educated as a Christian, his determination continues

Chapter unchanged, and his progress in religious knowledge is fully as
 X. great as that of most Christian boys of his age.

1852-54. As the distance at which His Highness resides from Mussoorie prevents the regular attendance of a clergyman, his religious instruction is almost entirely conducted by Mr. Guise; but I am in hopes that the Rev. Mr. Dawson, of Landour, may also be able to visit him during his stay here. After we left Futtehghur, the Maharajah regularly joined us at table, and now takes his meals with Mr. Guise and Master Scott, occasionally inviting Major Boileau's sons and some of Mr. Maddock's pupils, and sometimes coming over to our bungalow, at a short distance, to dine with us. He generally eats the Punjabi dishes to which he has been accustomed, but he is evidently acquiring the taste of an English boy with great rapidity.* With respect to the Shahzadah, I am glad to give a good report. Ever since he came under my charge I have observed a certain degree of distrust in his manner, and high ideas of his rank and importance. These had been rather increased than diminished since the Maharajah expressed his determination to be educated as a Christian; and it was pretty evident that these ideas were encouraged, if not by his mother (who is really, I believe, very well-meaning and thoroughly respectable), at least by her attendants. I hailed, therefore, the opportunity of the Maharajah's temporary residence on the hills to separate the boy for a time from such influences. The manner in which the poor little fellow had from his infancy been brought up, separated from all companions of his own age, and taught to consider all around him at Lahore as his enemies, was of itself sufficient to account for much of the distrust and selfishness apparent in his character; and as these feelings, if permitted to gain strength, would, under his peculiar

* The Maharajah has never tasted wine in any form, and from his recollection of the effects of intoxication on his uncle, Jowahir Singh, he appears to entertain a dread of being habituated to its use.—J. S. L.



circumstances and position, cause him much unhappiness as a man, and perhaps be productive of other inconveniences, I considered it of great importance to eradicate them if I could. To effect this, I have taken a step which I trust your Lordship will approve, and which, so far as I can judge from a short trial, is likely to be successful.

Chapter
X.
1852-54

As it seemed desirable that young Tommy Scott should have the benefit of regular school work and emulation, while at Mussoorie, I determined to allow the Shahzadah also to go for a few hours daily, not only to enjoy the benefit of Mr. Maddock's excellent tuition, and to allow Mr. Guise more time to devote to the Maharajah, but also to become acquainted with boys of his own age, and to join in their sports and amusements.

As the boys are all sons of gentlemen in the service, and are carefully looked after by Mr. Maddock, the Shahzadah's ideas of his dignity have not received too rude a shock on being sent to school, while the natural feeling of equality on which boys of that age meet on the playground are likely, I think, to have a wholesome effect upon him. Mr. Maddock has kindly entered into my views with respect to the boy, and is careful to prevent any undue deference being shown to him on account of his rank; and as the hours at which he attends are not those when religious instruction is given, any objections on that point are obviated. The little fellow appears to like the arrangement very much; he makes good progress with his work, enjoys the society of his schoolfellows, and joins in their amusements with great delight.

I may add, that I am more than ever careful to avoid any appearance of restraint in his religious observances, and that he and his people are not in any way interfered with in this respect, but, on the contrary, every care is taken to avoid offence to their prejudices in any way. It is curious that the priests have never taken any trouble to make the boy a Sikh, by administering the *Pahul* to him, by which alone he could become a Sikh. The Ranee has lost caste by marrying a Sikh, and her people do not

Chapter eat with her in consequence; nor do they eat with the Shahzadah
X. —the son of a Sikh.

1852-54. I feel sure this absence from his mother will do the boy good; he is getting older, and will gain self-reliance. By the time he sees her again they will probably have been separated ten months.

I have, &c.,

J. S. L.

The Most Noble the MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *June 7th*, 1852.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

All that you are doing in regard to the Maharajah seems to be very judicious, and considering birth and early habits, I think you have very good reason to be satisfied with his progress, and with the results of your care of him in all respects. If you could only keep down his fat! But there you don't set the best of examples!

I see no objection to the line you have taken with the Shahzadah; quite the contrary. It is calculated to do him great good, if directed with tact. So far your trip to the hills has been very successful. Your friend Fraser* has not only turned up a trump, but the ace of trumps. He has gained great distinction in Burmah, and will, I have no doubt, achieve more if he has the chance.

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

* Colonel Hugh Fraser, Bengal Engineers; afterwards in military command of the fort at Agra, when besieged by the mutineers in 1857.

LORD DALHOUSIE to the MAHARAJAH.

(On the receipt of the portrait of His Highness.)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, July 17th, 1852.

At last, after a long delay upon the river, your Highness's portrait has arrived. It is in excellent condition, not at all injured by the weather. It is very like you, and does great credit to Mr. Beechey as an artist. Your Highness has done me really a great favour in offering to me this likeness of yourself. If it please God that I should live till I am old, I shall look upon it with strong feelings long after my connection with this country shall have been dissolved, and always with a renewal of the interest which I feel in yourself, and in everything belonging to your fate and fortunes. You have gratified me, too, by asking for my portrait in return. I shall have great pleasure in sending one to you as soon as I can get one worthy of your acceptance. But Mr. Beechey, I fear, won't come to Calcutta, and there is no good artist here.

Chapter
X.
1852-5

On Monday I start for Rangoon, to make arrangements for the war. As I hate the sea and everything belonging to it, and as the weather will be very bad, I do not look forward with pleasure to the voyage.

Your Highness will have heard that many of your countrymen have volunteered to go to Burmah, and I greatly hope they will have an opportunity of meeting the Burmese, and of giving them a lesson, which they are very well able to do.

I beg you to believe me, my dear Maharajah,

Your Highness's sincere and faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

To His Highness the MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.



Chapter
X.
1852-54.

Finding the companionship of Major Boileau's sons most beneficial to the Maharajah, Login proposed that they should accompany him to Futtehghur, and pursue their studies under Mr. Guise, undertaking to defray all their expenses until they were old enough to enter Roorkee College. He had found the experiment of allowing the Shahzadah to mix with English boys most successful, the only difficulty now experienced being to get him away from the playground !

LORD DALHOUSIE to the MAHARAJAH.

(On the receipt of a pencil sketch forwarded by Dr. Login.)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Sept. 24th, 1852.

The drawing which your Highness was so good as to send to Lady Dalhousie shall be given to her as soon as she returns from Ceylon, where she has been obliged to pass the hot season from ill-health. She will, I am sure, be much pleased by your Highness's attention to her.

The drawing itself shows a progress most creditable to you. I cannot advise you too strongly to cultivate the art ; it will be a resource to you in many various forms, both in the house and out of doors.

When I was a boy, like yourself, I foolishly neglected the opportunities I had of acquiring it, and a thousand times since have I regretted it when I desired to possess a sketch of some scene which I admired among the many beautiful and the many famous places I have visited, and which, if I could have used my pencil, I might have preserved by the labour of half an hour.

I am so rejoiced to hear from Dr. Login that you have enjoyed your stay at Mussoorie, and that you are really getting on with English, though not quite so well with other studies. Pray persevere—you have a great deal to learn yet before you can be considered a well-instructed gentleman, and nothing but perseverance will do it.

Your interest in the conduct of your countryman is very pleasing to me. Their volunteering for Burmah gave me great satisfaction, and I have been glad to reward them for it by allowing two regiments, the 4th Sikh Local Regiment and the Loodiana Regiment, to go to Burmah. The first goes immediately. I have perfect confidence in them. The British never had braver enemies than your countrymen, and I am confident that they will show the same bravery now that they fight upon our side.

Shere Singh Attareewallah, who is now confined in Fort William, was very anxious to go also. I would not permit him to do so. He was an unfaithful and bad servant to your Highness, as well as a faithless friend to the British Government, and I would, therefore, not allow him to have the honour of taking part in a war on our behalf.

In the hope of hearing again from your Highness by-and-bye,

I beg to assure you that I am always

Your Highness's sincere and faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

To His Highness the MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

LORD DALHOUSIE to DR. LOGIN.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Sept. 24th, 1852.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the ninth, enclosing one from the Maharajah, to which I now send a reply.

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

The sketch is really nicely done, and if it was, as you say, *not* doctored by the master, it does him great credit. All you say of his progress, and of the Shahzadah, is more favourable than could be looked for. If you cannot make the Maharajah industrious or learned, you will, at all events, have given him the means of finding interests and occupations for himself, if he chooses to have recourse to them.

I am an advocate for his going to England, and shall do my best to persuade the Court to it; and if it should help to a marriage between him and little Coorg, I shall be very glad, for it will reconcile much which would otherwise be a considerable perplexity both in her case and his. I would not renew the overtures for marriage just at present, because it might look as if he had been moved to it by the notice taken of her in England. The Rajah will return in a few months, and you can then propose it to the Government, if the Maharajah wishes to re-open negotiations.

I have been greatly disgusted with the notoriety they have given to this man in England, though I had carefully provided against it here, and had warned them on the subject. It has been calculated only to turn the girl's head, and his too, for he will now be more convinced than ever of his accomplishing his object of marrying her to an English nobleman. Whether he would prefer a Maharajah *pucka* to a nobleman in prospect, I don't know! nor do I feel sure that the Maharajah would do well to arrange any marriage until he has seen the young lady; for, as he is a Christian, and can't get Ranees in duplicate, he may as well see how he likes her first! The little heathen sister, whom Jung Bahadoor took away with him to Nepal, was really very pretty. The orthodox one was not nearly so good-looking!

Consider these points, and let me know what you think.

You are aware that I have been most anxious that there should be no fuss or display connected with Duleep's profession of

Christianity, in order that I might feel satisfied in my conscience that the boy had not been, unintentionally by us, or unconsciously to himself, led into the act by any other motives than that of conviction of the truth. To that end your management of the matter has been most judicious and highly satisfactory to me. I should wish that course steadily pursued. I consider that the Coorg christening in St. James's Chapel, with royal godfather and godmothers, and the name of Victoria given her, has been a great mistake, calculated to make the child regard a sacrament as a Court pageant, and to lead all the world to believe (as I verily believe myself) that the father's motive was not so much that his child should be an "heir of salvation," as that she should be a god-daughter of Queen Victoria! I do not think I am uncharitable in concluding that the man could have no higher motive who, while he was leading with one hand his elder child to Christianity, gave over the younger with the other to Hinduism and Jung Bahadoor! Let us avoid all such reproach. If Duleep is to go to England, let him be quietly baptized before he goes, and by his own name of Duleep Singh. Indeed, I am prepared to advise his being baptized now, as soon as his minister can declare that he is sufficiently instructed, and is willing to receive the rite. If he is sufficiently instructed, and is willing to be baptized at all, he is quite old enough to take the obligations directly upon himself, and to be baptized without the intervention of godfathers and godmother.

Dr. Carshore goes to Jhelum. He is to be succeeded by Mr. Jay, whom I have never seen, but whom I understand to be a learned, gentle, and pious man.

I shall be glad to hear from you on this subject after your return to Futtehghur. There will be no objections to the Maharajah being accompanied by his young companions.

I am in a difficulty about my portrait for Duleep. There is nobody here who can paint a good one. Mr. Beechey can't be got, and I should not like to send a bad one. Do you think the

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

Chapter X. Maharajah would be disappointed by my delaying, in order to get a good artist, either here or in England?

1852-54.

I am, very truly yours,

DALHOUSIE.

Login wrote Lord Dalhousie, telling him that the Maharajah had begun regularly to attend church, very quietly, and without any attendance beyond Bhajun Lal, who at his own desire accompanied him.

I am fully satisfied that the Maharajah's knowledge of Christian truth, and the sincerity of his convictions are such as to qualify him for baptism, whenever it is thought expedient; and I intend, during the visit of Archdeacon Pratt to us next week, to ask his opinion, after he has had some opportunities of conversing freely with the boy.

If the Court give permission for the Maharajah to visit England, it would be a great advantage to him that it should be *after* your Lordship had gone home, so as to have the benefit of your advice as to the manner in which he should be received, and to prevent him from being brought forward prominently until his education is further advanced, and he is enabled to take his place in society in a manner which will be creditable to himself and all connected with him.

LORD DALHOUSIE to DR. LOGIN.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Oct. 15th, 1852.

DEAR LOGIN,

Just a line to say that I know no reason why the Maharajah should not go to church when he wishes it, and every reason why he should, his mind being made up.

I quite approve of all you are doing.

In haste, yours very truly,

DR. LOGIN.

DALHOUSIE.

The cold weather was pleasantly passed on the march back to Futtehghur. By this time Duleep Singh had acquired a taste for shooting and coursing, and spent almost every morning riding and walking after game, with his two friends Frank and Charles Boileau, attended by Thornton, his English servant; of course, an escort of troopers were within easy hail. Seven or eight miles on foot was thought little of by the young sportsmen.

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

At Meerut, His Highness was received by Sir Joseph Thackwell, who was in command; at Seharunpore, by Mr. Philip Trench, C.S., who invited the ladies and gentlemen of the station to meet His Highness at dinner. The same attention was paid by Mr. Blunt at Allyghur. Everyone remarked the great improvement in Duleep Singh's manner and bearing since he passed up the year before.

His love for music had developed greatly and as he brought his music master, Mr. Hunter, with him for the cold season, while he was not needed by his pupils in the hills, he worked very hard with him for some part of the day, amusing himself with his band of an evening.

Having undergone a probation of two years, the Maharajah himself now expressed his strong desire to be received into the Christian Church by baptism.



FUTTEHGUR, *Feb. 10th, 1853.**(Anniversary of Sohraon).*

MY LORD,

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

The communications which I have from time to time made to your Lordship regarding the Maharajah's progress in religious knowledge will have prepared you to receive the expression of his desire to be baptized. The enclosed letter, which he has requested me to forward to your Lordship, conveys the sentiments of his mind on the occasion.

From the marked consistency of his conduct and character during the last two years, and the earnestness with which he applies himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures, in contrast to his general application to his other studies, I have every reason to think that his heart is deeply interested, and that he desires to make an open profession of his faith in a right spirit.

The importance of the step he is about to take has been most carefully impressed upon his mind, and he is fully aware of the duties to which his baptismal vows will bind him.

In the event of your Lordship's sanction being obtained to his public profession of his belief, the Maharajah is anxious that he should be baptized by the Rev. Mr. Jay before he returns to Mussoorie. As the church here is still under repair, and not likely to be finished for six months, the ceremony may perhaps with every propriety take place in his own house, in the presence of such witnesses as your Lordship may approve. I am sure that Messrs. Buller and Cuninghame, the judge and the magistrate of the district, Colonel Alexander, Major Tucker, or other of the gentleman residents at the station, will very readily be present on the occasion; or, if it be considered desirable, I could ask the Commissioner, Mr. Tyler, or Mr. William Muir, the Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, who are not very far distant from us.

While taking every care that the ceremony should lose nothing of its impressiveness and solemnity, I need not say how much I coincide in the wish expressed by your Lordship that, when it

does take place, every ostentatious display should be avoided. Chapter
 This has hitherto been carefully observed in all that has related X.
 to the Maharajah's instruction in religious truth, and I do 1852-54.
 sincerely hope that the substance, rather than the form, has been
 impressed upon his mind.

Although His Highness had, about three weeks since, expressed
 his desire to be baptized, and Mr. Jay had written to me proposing
 that he should obtain the requisite sanction of the Bishop for the
 performance of the ceremony, I thought it better not to take any
 steps in the matter until the Maharajah should himself express
 his wish to me on the subject, on receipt of which I immediately
 wrote to Mr. Jay. . . . As, in the event of your Lordship's
 sanction to the Maharajah's baptism, it will be necessary that Mr.
 Jay obtain the sanction of the Bishop, it may save some delay in
 reference, if the Lord Bishop could be requested by your Lordship
 to communicate with Mr. Jay for that purpose.

The Maharajah has taken very great interest in reading the
 Holy Scriptures with Mr. Jay, and that gentleman has been
 equally gratified with the attention and earnestness with which
 His Highness has received his instruction. . . .

I remain, &c.

J. S. LOGIN.

Enclosed with the above, were the following notes:—

Feb. 8th, 1853.

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

I think I now sufficiently understand the Christian religion,
 and the duties to which it binds me, and have a strong desire to
 be baptized, which I trust, therefore, I may be considered fit for.

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

DULEEP SINGH.



MY DEAR MR. JAY,

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

The Maharajah having addressed a note to me to-day expressing his strong desire for baptism, I am anxious to ascertain from you whether, from the opportunities which you have had of conversing with him on religious subjects, you consider him to be sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of Divine truth, and sufficiently impressed with the importance of the vows he wishes to take upon himself, to justify you in admitting him to that Holy Sacrament.

I am, my dear Mr. Jay,

Yours very truly,

J. S. L.

MY DEAR DR. LOGIN,

I think the Maharajah has quite sufficient head knowledge of the truths of our holy religion to justify his receiving the sacrament of baptism. How far his heart is touched, you have better opportunities than I, a comparative stranger, have had of judging. I have gone through the Gospel of St. Matthew with him carefully, and I never spent any time with greater pleasure and satisfaction. The young Maharajah was uniformly careful, attentive, and earnest.

Yours very truly,

W. J. JAY,

Chaplain of Futtehghur.

From ARCHDEACON PRATT'S Memorandum to the BISHOP.

I have been much pleased with my interviews with the Maharajah. He seems fully aware of the responsibility of the step he wishes to take, and that his conduct will be scrutinized when he becomes a Christian. I asked him many questions, which he

answered very clearly and fully. He made correct statements on Chapter X. the doctrine of the Trinity, the Person of Our Lord; His Two Natures, His offices of Prophet, Priest, and King, which 1852-54. he explained. Altogether, I was much pleased, and feel persuaded that a gracious work is going on in his heart. I do not see why he should not be baptized, if he wishes to be. He shows considerable thought and seriousness and good sense, far beyond his years, and with it all (what one is not sorry to see) his boyhood and simplicity are not lost.

Login adds :—

I am sure that Mr. Guise, and all who have been intimately associated with him, will join me in willing testimony to his truthfulness and rectitude of conduct, and to the great improvement that has been apparent in many ways during this trial of probation, now more than two years.

To this communication Lord Dalhousie replied as follows :—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Feb. 15th, 1853.*

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have communicated with my colleagues, who concur with me in readily acceding to the Maharajah's wish, that he may receive the rite of baptism at once.* I have written to the Bishop to address Mr. Jay. The station church being under repair, His Highness's own house would be the best place for the performance of the rite. I desire no secrecy, but at the same time deprecate notoriety and all approach to a *tumasha*.

* The official permission of the Governor-General in Council followed this.



Chapter Don't bring people from a distance. Invite, if you please to do
 X. so, the principal persons of the station ; but only those who will
 1852-54. regard the occasion as a solemn administration of a Holy
 Sacrament, and not a common festivity.

Probably it will not be necessary to give a name at all, but if
 requisite, let it be his own name, "Duleep Singh."

I pray God to bless this act to his eternal good.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSE.

DR. LOGIN.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Feb. 15th, 1853.*

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

I have received with the most lively satisfaction the
 letter in which you express your desire to be at once baptized,
 and to be admitted a member of the Church of Christ. When
 you first showed an inclination to believe in the truths which you
 found declared in the Word of God, I advised you not to act
 hastily, to continue your study of the Bible, and to test by time
 the strength and sincerity of your belief.

You have followed my advice, and I have learnt with real
 pleasure from the statements of the Archdeacon and Mr. Jay
 that they have found you quite fit to receive the baptism you
 desire to obtain. I, on my part, most readily assent to your
 wish, and I thank the God and Saviour of us all, who has put
 into your heart a knowledge of, and belief in, the truth of our
 holy religion.

I earnestly hope that your future life may be in conformity
 with the precepts of that religion, and that you may show to
 your countrymen in India an example of a pure and blameless
 life, such as is befitting a Christian prince.

I beg your Highness to believe in the strength and sincerity of the regard which I shall ever feel towards you, and to remain, now and always,

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

Your Highness's sincere and affectionate friend,

DALHOUSIE.

His Highness MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *March 16th, 1853.*

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

I have received, with the liveliest satisfaction, the letter which you wrote to me on the 8th inst., announcing to me that the rite of baptism had been administered to you, and that you had been admitted into the Church of Christ.

I rejoice in the opportunity it affords me of again offering you the assurance of my affectionate interest in your welfare, and of my most earnest wishes for your happiness, both in this world and in that which is to come.

I beg your Highness to believe me,

Your sincere and faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

His Highness MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

FUTTEHGHUR, *March 8th, 1853.*

MY LORD,

It now gives me sincere pleasure to acquaint your Lordship that the Maharajah was this day admitted into the Christian Church by baptism, and took the vows upon him in a most solemn and impressive manner.

The ceremony took place in His Highness's private dwelling-house, in presence of about twenty of the European residents of

Chapter the station, and nearly an equal number of the Maharajah's
X. principal native servants whom I had invited to attend.

1852-54

The truly simple and earnest manner in which the service was conducted by the Rev. Mr. Jay, and joined in by all the Christians present, commanded the reverent attention of all who witnessed it, and, I hope, left a deep impression of its solemnity on many minds. . . . I forward a copy of the entry made in the baptismal register at Futteghur.

Mr. Jay considered it necessary that the names of three persons (of whom one should be a lady) should be entered as witnesses to the baptism, and Colonel Alexander and Mrs. Login were proposed in addition to myself; but with Mr. Jay's consent, I also asked Mr. Guise to sign the register.

The native names on the register have been spelt as the Maharajah pointed out. . . .

I may add that everything approaching to display, or unbefitting the solemnity of the occasion, has been most carefully avoided in every respect.

I remain, &c.,

J. S. LOGIN.

The ceremony was felt, by those privileged to be present, to be touching as well as impressive; the earnest expression on the young boy's face, the look, half sad, half curious, on the countenances of his people, who were all witnesses of the rite by their own wish, combined to make it so.

It occurred to Mrs. Login, at the last moment, that, bearing in mind the veneration in which all Hindoos hold the River Ganges, there would be peculiar appropriateness in using its water for the sacred rite,

thereby sanctifying it in the Maharajah's mind, from henceforth, with a new and holier association. Jewindah, the favourite Sikh attendant of Duleep Singh, begged to be allowed to fetch the water himself for this purpose from the river, and ran off with his brass *lotah*, evidently regarding the proposition with favour, as a concession to Hindoo prejudices.

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *March 16th, 1853.*

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have had the pleasure to receive yours of 8th, enclosing one from the Maharajah.

I rejoice deeply and sincerely in this good issue to the great change the boy has passed through, with so much satisfactory evidence of the reality and genuineness of his convictions.

I regard it as a very remarkable event in history, and in every way gratifying.

Let me add that, under circumstances of peculiarity, of great delicacy, and of great difficulty, I have been most highly satisfied with the judgment and discretion, the prudence and kindly tact, which have been exhibited by yourself through them all.

Believe me to be, my dear Login,

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

DR. LOGIN.

MUSSOORIE, *June 2nd, 1853.*

MY LORD,

It gives me particular pleasure to acquaint your Lordship that ever since his baptism, the Maharajah has continued, by his conduct and character, to afford very satisfactory evidence of the

Chapter X.
1852-54. influence of Christian principles on his heart, and I trust, as his years increase, they may continue to gain strength, and preserve him from the many dangers and temptations to which he must necessarily be exposed in the position he has to occupy. He is fully aware of the responsibilities which his profession of Christianity imposes on him, and of the effect which his example may have upon others of his countrymen, either for good or evil, and I believe he is honestly anxious to use this influence aright.* He is going on with his education with more energy than heretofore. His progress in music is rapid, and he takes great delight in it. He performs really creditably on the flute and corneopean, and, with his music-master's assistance, has got up a very good band of eight or nine men. It is a great amusement to him, and it is an incentive to study, as he pays the expenses out of his pocket-money. This band is a great pleasure to the community at Mussoorie, as they play on the Mall on stated evenings, where their appearance is hailed with delight.

I have been successful in getting up a course of lectures during the season, which have already been well attended. Many gentlemen have been induced to offer their services as lecturers, and I have got a course of them on various subjects, arranged to fill up six months; the three first, by Mr. Mackinnon, on "Astronomy," were excellent—pronounced so by some of the best astronomers in India, who were among the audience.

I have already expressed to your Lordship my anxiety that the Maharajah should not become a mere State pensioner, but that he

* Numerous letters were received by the Maharajah, congratulating him on his baptism, and giving him cordial welcome from many eminent Christians, both European and native. Some of them were very touching. Amongst others who wrote to him were—

Rev. Krishna Banerjee.
 Rev. Gopy Nanth Nundy.
 Ganendro Mohan Tagore.
 Bishop Wilson.

Mr. Thomason.
 Sir Henry Lawrence.
 Sir Frederick Currie.



should be led to take an interest in all that concerns the welfare of the natives around him, and the progress in improvement of his neighbourhood; and if such was my wish before he became a Christian, I need not say how much my anxiety has been increased by that event. This is not likely to be fully developed unless he has some estate in the country to which his attention could be applied. I would, therefore, respectfully beg your Lordship's consideration to the propriety of giving him a grant of land on the occasion of his coming of age, of such extent, and on such conditions, as may appear suitable to his position and circumstances. Should His Highness's home be fixed in India, a part of the Eastern Dhoon would appear most suitable, as he is sure to pass the hot season here. The Dhoon is not looked upon as profitable, but I think it might be made so.

The two young Boileaus have passed with great credit in Urdu and Hindu, and are qualified for the army. Their father has, I fear, little chance of getting appointments for them; and as I feel that the Maharajah has gained much by their companionship, I am anxious to help them, and if your Lordship sees no impropriety in the Maharajah asking Lord Hardinge for a commission for the eldest, he will gladly do so.

I have the honour, &c.,

J. S. L.

Sir Frederick Currie, before leaving India, wrote the Maharajah as follows:—

CALCUTTA, April 11th, 1853.

MAHARAJAH,

I wish to write to your Highness before leaving India to offer you my warm congratulations on the important event which has just been communicated to the Government by

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

Chapter your friend, Dr. Login, viz., your Highness's admission into the
 X. Christian Church by the rite of baptism.
 1852-54.

I have long regarded you with very sincere esteem (ever since we first met on that memorable occasion in February, 1846); and those feelings are much enhanced by the contemplation that I can now regard you as a fellow-Christian, animated by the same hopes, cheered by the same promises, and seeking the same consummation of all our objects and desires in life—the love and glory of our common Saviour in time, and His presence in eternity.

I have in no degree lost the interest which I had in your Highness during the eventful year 1848; but I have thought it better, considering our respective positions, and hearing of the feelings which were at work in your heart, and which have led to such a happy result, that I should not write to you.

Any communication between us might have been misrepresented, to your Highness's detriment, both in the Punjab and in Hindostan. But now there is no longer any cause for such reserve; your Highness has taken the irrevocable step, and I am about to leave India by the steamer of the 8th prox., when my connection with the Government will be at an end. I therefore now write these few lines to assure your Highness that I have taken the most lively interest in all that has happened in regard to you since I saw you; that I have read the reports of your progress in knowledge and of the development of your character, sent from time to time by Dr. Login, with high gratification; and that the last reported event above referred to has given me unfeigned joy.

I do not know if there is any possibility of your Highness visiting England, but should you do so during my lifetime, it will give me very great pleasure to renew our acquaintance.

I remain, Maharajah,

Your sincere friend,

F. CURRIE.

His Highness MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

The following is the first letter Login received from Lord Dalhousie after the death of Lady Dalhousie :—

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Aug. 4th, 1852.*

DEAR LOGIN,

I have to ask your pardon for the long delay which has occurred in replying to the letter I had from you about middle of June. Since that period, though I have not allowed public business to be retarded, I fear I have left many letters unanswered, among them yours. Your account of the Maharajah continues to be as satisfactory as we have any right to expect. Your plans for at once instructing, diverting, and training him as a member of European society are excellent, and can leave on your mind no doubt of your meeting with full co-operation, as far as it depends on me.

With regard to the future, I cannot go quite so entirely with you. We are at one in thinking that he should go to England. It is my opinion, as it is yours, that he should go while he is yet what we should consider a boy. I shall therefore be prepared to ask permission from the Court to let him go next spring, if you consider him ready and desirous, as before, to go. I will not disguise from you that the Court may not give a very gracious assent; the visit of Jung Bahadoor, whom they spoiled, and still more, the present visit of the ex-Rajah of Coorg, whom, in spite of all my precautions and warnings, they have lifted wholly out of his place, making a fool both of him and of themselves thereby, has disgusted the Court and Board of Control with native, and especially with princely, visitors. Still I hope they will agree, and still more, I hope that the Maharajah will not expect pompous receptions, and will rather seek quiet and privacy while he shall remain in England. With respect to the question of a residence at Mussoorie, and also to a grant of land, I conceive that these matters should be postponed until the Maharajah shall have

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

The following note from Duleep Singh to Login was enclosed in the above :—

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

As I do not like to attempt a letter to the Governor-General, I hope it will do as well to write to you what I wish to say.

You told me that the Governor-General wishes to know if I am as anxious as before to go to England. I wish to say that I am very anxious to go, and quite ready to start whenever his Lordship gives me permission. I do not want to go to make a show of myself, but to study and complete my education, and I wish to live in England as quietly as possible.

Yours very sincerely,

DULEEP SINGH.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Aug. 31st, 1853.*

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Tell the Maharajah that it is wholly impossible for me to say *when* he may be allowed to go. It does not rest with me. I have not authority in this case to let him go without reference to the Court in the first instance.

This reference I will make by the very next mail, and I will make known to you the answer as soon as possible.

If he goes, he should go without a "following." In England, as you say, his education will be easily carried on, either by masters or a private tutor. The offer, therefore, which you speak of as made to Mr. Guise, should on no account be set aside by the Maharajah or by the Government, because it would be impossible for either to undertake to compensate Mr. Guise for the advantages

he will have consented to forego at their request. Mr. Guise Chapter X.
 certainly deserves well of the Maharajah; and if he quits him 1852-54
 now, a handsome acknowledgment of his services would, as you
 suggest, be very fitting, but it should not be in the shape of a
 pension. If it is desirable that the Maharajah should have
 a young companion, as you seem to think, *one* of the lads may
 accompany him, *not* both—you will find a “tail” in England
 very troublesome and very costly.

The going of the Shahzadah must depend entirely on whether
 the Maharajah wishes it, so far as the wishes of his family are
 concerned at all; but I think the wisdom of his going doubtful,
 for he is as yet too young to derive any profit for himself; and
 with respect to the pleasure of the thing, I think the Maharajah
 would find him a great “taigle” in England. Many people, who
 would be glad to be civil to His Highness, would not choose to be
 bothered with a second prince, who has no interest or importance.
 My present impression is that the little boy should not go, and
 that some arrangement should be made for him here, by which he
 would not lose what he has gained, during your absence.

Believe me to be,

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

DR. LOGIN.

*Extracts from some of LOGIN's letters to LORD DALHOUSIE from
 Mussoorie.*

. . . . Mr. Guise has accepted the appointment offered him,
 and has left to join. At parting, His Highness presented him
 with a Government promissory note for 5,000 rupees, as a kindly
 acknowledgment of his services.

. . . . I have thought it right to avail myself of the opportunity
 afforded me by the return of Mrs. Scott (now a widow) with her

Chapter family to England to allow the young boy, Tom Scott, who has
 X. for the last four years been brought up with His Highness and the
 1852-54. Shahzadah, to accompany her for the purpose of going to school; but in consideration of the advantages which have resulted to His Highness from the companionship of his young friend at so interesting a period of his life, and the very straitened circumstances of Mrs. Scott, with a family of seven children unprovided for, I trust no objection will be made to an allowance of fifty rupees per mensem being granted for the education of the boy, during the minority of His Highness. Charles Boileau returns to his father at Ferozepore. Thus Frank Boileau will be the only European companion who will accompany His Highness to England.

. . . . Your Lordship's principal objection to the Shahzadah's accompanying his uncle seems to be the possible inconvenience of the arrangement. I think that might be obviated, and the Maharajah suggests many ways of doing so, which shows how much he desires to have him with him. But apart from His Highness's wishes on the subject, I would respectfully point out other considerations. As the Maharajah, by adopting our faith, has deprived himself of almost all political influence among his countrymen, they are now inclined to consider the Shahzadah as the rightful representative of their old rulers, and judging from the boy's natural disposition, it would be advisable to keep him as much with the Maharajah as possible, and accustom him to consider their interests identical. By allowing him to remain in India while His Highness is in England, I fear he will be more encouraged in the idea of his separate importance, and it will be difficult for his pretensions to be kept under control, as easily as while with his uncle and natural head. The ignorant will hold him in estimation for not having crossed the ocean. There will be no difficulty about the retention of his caste, though it will entail additional trouble and arrangements upon me, which I would otherwise escape.

I can make arrangements to take two or three Punjabi Brahmins to attend the Maharajah, relatives (and servants) of the Misr Makraj at Lahore, of whose family two or three members still remain attached to His Highness. The old Misr has written to them to say that it is their duty to go, if the Maharajah wishes it, only that they should be careful to keep their caste. If they go with us, there will be no difficulty about the Shahzadah, as regards caste. I am willing to submit to all this trouble, rather than miss the opportunity of opening a way, and showing high-caste Hindoos that it is possible to break through prejudice, and set an example to their countrymen to visit Europe.

The Shahzadah's mother has returned from her home, and will remain here till we leave, when she will go to reside at Hurdwar, where she has a house. She does not like the idea of her son going with the Maharajah, and has sent me a petition to send to your Lordship on the subject. I have told her that as soon as we know that the permission is granted, I will send in her petition against it.

The little boy himself is really not unwilling to go, and has great faith in Mrs. Login being able to persuade his mother to let him go. He has been explaining to her the geography of Europe, showing her the map, and the pictures in the *Illustrated News*; and though, since her arrival, he does not say so much about it as before, his own inclinations are very evident. He has now for the last two years been absent from his mother's influence, for periods of ten and a half and ten months at a time, and seemed to enjoy life thoroughly.

LORD DALHOUSIE to J. S. LOGIN.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Nov. 29th, 1853.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

You give so many good reasons why the Shahzadah should go with His Highness, if he goes to England, that no objection will

Chapter be made by Government. In that case all your arrangements
X. will be approved,

1852-54. A gift of 5,000 rupees to Mr. Guise is both liberal and proper ;
and your allowance to Tommy Scott will not be questioned. The
order of the Court shall be sent as soon as received. If I go to
Burmah I'll tell Mr. Courtney to let you know. I approve of all
you propose to do.

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

Jan. 31st, 1854.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have just received the Court's leave for the Maharajah to go
to England, and I beg you to deliver the enclosed to him.

I hope he will do me credit, for they have had a sickener of
native grandees at home lately.

Yours most sincerely,

DALHOUSIE.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Jan. 31st, 1854.*

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

I am very happy to be able to tell you that I have this
moment received the permission of the Court of Directors that
you should visit England.

In the belief that this intelligence will give you pleasure, I
hasten to convey it to you with my own hand.

I have not time to write another word beyond the assurance of
the pleasure it will give me to see your Highness again.

I remain, with much respect,

Your sincere and faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

His Highness MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

Letter from SIR HENRY LAWRENCE after the death of his WIFE. Chapter X.

1852-54

CAMP, NEAR NEEMUCH, Feb. 10th, 1854.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Best thanks to you both for your kind letters and sympathy. Yes! my heart is a sore one, and hard to bear—God's will be done.

Yes: I will try and go to Roorkee. Napier will probably be there, and I long to meet him; also I want to see Cautley and Mr. Colvin, and also your brother and sister.

I am moving towards Bhurtpore, by way of Kohat and Kerowly. My very kindest regards to Mrs. Login.

Remember me kindly to the Maharajah.

Always, my dear Login,

Yours very sincerely,

H. M. LAWRENCE.

Bhajun Lal up to this time had fully determined to go to England with his master; but his people knew well that if he did so he would take the opportunity of declaring himself a Christian; they were therefore bent on preventing his going. His convictions were very strong; but in his own case he had not the courage to throw off the bondage of Hindooism, though he had certainly helped the Maharajah in his decision with all the energy of which his nature was capable.

When he got back to Futtehghur, to his young

Chapter X.
1852-54. wife and children, and his father, who was a shrewd *bunniah* * in the city of Furruckabad, he became unable to struggle against the influences brought to bear on him, and matters reached a climax when, on the occasion of his youngest brother's marriage (which was about to be celebrated with all the display and lavish expenditure that rich Hindoos consider incumbent on them on these occasions), he was induced by his father to prefer a request that in the public procession through the city the *sowaree* of His Highness, i.e., the horses, carriages, and elephants, should form a prominent feature, and that the Maharajah's tents, &c., should also be lent in which to celebrate the wedding festivities.

Under ordinary circumstances, Login would have been very pleased to show some such token of the estimation in which both he and the Maharajah held Bhajun Lal's services, and of the respect they would wish to show to a member of his family. It was also, according to native ideas, a very customary mark of favour from a prince or noble to a favourite attendant or companion, such as Bhajun Lal. But as in this case the bridegroom was a mere child, and the bride of equally tender age, Login felt a conscientious objection to appear to give his, or the Maharajah's, public sanction to one of those monstrous child-marriages which bring such misery into the homes of India.

* Native merchant.

Especially he felt that this would be unbecoming on the Maharajah's part, since he had so lately made profession of the Christian faith. Chapter
X.
1852-54.

He therefore told Bhajun Lal that he could only grant his request on one of two conditions, viz., either the marriage was deferred, until the bride and bridegroom were of an age to understand the importance of the contract they were about to enter into (in which case, besides the loan of the things asked for, the Maharajah would bestow a sum of money to set the young people up in the world), or else, a bond or agreement should be given to the young girl, to the effect that, in the event of her boy-husband dying while she was still marriageable, she should be permitted to select another partner for herself, from among the widowers or unmarried youths of her husband's family. This alternative arrangement was suggested, because it is a frequent custom among the Sikhs to marry their brothers' widows, thus saving the girl from the awful slavery for life, which is the fate of Hindoo child-widows.

Poor Bhajun Lal, in whom family affection and love of money, were equally ruling passions, was persuaded by his relatives to send in his resignation, and thus cut himself adrift from his chance of becoming a Christian. It was a great sorrow to all who had been brought to know, and like him, during the three years he had been with the Maharajah, for he was, indeed, "almost a Christian" at heart, and

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

certainly had been, under God, the instrument of confirming the desire of the Maharajah to come out from among his people. A handsome present of money and a horse were given him on leaving.

The Maharajah did not evince much sorrow at parting from him, though he had counted on his going to England with him; but he fully agreed in the propriety of lending no countenance to the iniquity of infant marriages.

It may be as well to mention here all that is known of the later history of Bhajun Lal. He wrote occasionally to Dr. Login, but his letters were full of money-getting; he became a *bunniah* in the city of Furruckabad, and at the time of the Mutiny proved himself faithful, and was of great use, though he was unable to save the property of the Maharajah from loot and destruction. He is now the head of the great firm of tentmakers at Futtehghur (Bhajun Lal & Co.), but all idea of becoming a Christian seems to have passed away.

Early in February, the camp of the Commander-in-Chief (Sir William Gomm), came to Futtehghur, and with it Colonel Mountain, one of the staff, who was brought in from the district dangerously ill. He was conveyed to Dr. Login's house, and attended by him; but medical skill was of no avail, and in a few days he died there. As Colonel Mountain was a very great friend of the Governor-General, Login at once wrote a full account of his last

moments to Lord Dalhousie; to which letter the following is a reply:—

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I received your sad letter yesterday, and am grateful for what you tell me of the last moments of my poor friend. He has died the death of the righteous! I never doubted that, soldier and Christian as he was, he would die when his time came as hero or saint should die. I mourn for him with a deep and sincere sorrow.

I wish I could ask the Maharajah to come here to Government House on his arrival, but there are only really two or three rooms in the whole house. Would it be any convenience to you to put up at Government House, Barrackpore? there is plenty of room there, and you would not be far off. I will have it all got ready for him if I hear from you that he would like it. His horses, &c., will have plenty of accommodation at the stables there.

No objection will be raised to the Shahzadah going to England, if the Maharajah still desires it, so you can bring him with you.

Yours truly,

DALHOUSIE.

In reply, Login said that the Maharajah would much like to go to Barrackpore, and was full of eager anticipation of his coming visit to England, that he talked of entering one of the public schools and taking his place among boys of his own age, "only hoping he won't get many thrashings."

This suggestion apparently did not meet with the

Chapter Governor-General's approval, as we may judge from
X. the answer it elicited :—
1852-54.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Feb. 25th, 1854.*

MY DEAR LOGIN,

The proposal to go to public school won't do at all. He is much too old, and would be thrashed beyond a doubt periodically. Even a university would not do.

Yours sincerely,

DALHOUSIE.

A short stay was made at Lucknow, *en route* to Calcutta, owing to a kind invitation from the Resident, Colonel Sleeman, to the Maharajah, asking him to pay him a visit, and see the sights of that city before leaving India. As there was no intention of exchanging courtesies with the native Court there, the visit was made a private one, though, as the Maharajah was now on his way to Europe, the usual ceremonials were observed as to guards of honour, salutes, &c. ;*

* *Letter from Major W. A. G. Mayhew (Asst. A.G. to Brigadier-General T. Palmer, Commanding Cawnpore Division) dated A. G. Office, Calcutta 11th March, 1854. No. 193 :—*

Under instructions from the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, I have the honour to request that, should His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh halt at Cawnpore, he is to be received at that station with a salute of twenty-one guns.

I am further directed to inform you, that His Highness is to be provided with a Jemadar's Guard during his visit.

an escort of irregular cavalry accompanied his carriage to and from Lucknow, and a military guard remained in attendance with him. Whilst at Lucknow, Dr. and Mrs. Login were treated with great distinction by the King of Oude and the Prime Minister; they were expressly invited to the Palace, where a *khillut* was presented to Dr. Login, with the addition of a valuable sword as a souvenir, and a pair of diamond bracelets and a ring to Mrs. Login.

As Dr. Login was not then in the service of the King, these presents could not be accepted; but the King made a request to Colonel Sleeman, that the circumstances of the presentation might be made known to the Governor-General, so that an exception to the ordinary rule might be allowed in this case. The amount of correspondence which this unimportant matter entailed between high officials in India and the Court of Directors at home before the official permission of the latter body was given, would cause no little amusement and surprise to those unacquainted with the idiosyncrasies of red-tape routine.

Colonel—afterwards Sir William—Sleeman, celebrated for his successful efforts for the suppression of "Thuggee," was an ardent ethnologist, and a great authority on the origin of races. The following letter, which he wrote to Login after the Maharajah's visit to Lucknow, may prove interesting, as containing the fruits of some of his researches on the subject of the great westward migration from the Pamir plateau of

Chapter the Hindoo Koosh, and the connection between the
 X. Indo-Teutonic races :—
 1852-54.

COLONEL SLEEMAN to DR. LOGIN.

LUCKNOW RESIDENCY, *March 17th, 1854.*

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have been reading up the book I spoke to the Maharajah about (" Pictorial History of England "), since he left. You must get it for him, and let him see for himself that he is of the same race as the men of Kent. They were from Jutland, and came into England with the Saxons from Friesland and Angles from Holstein, who dispossessed the old Britons in the fifth century. They were the Juts or old Getæ of the Greeks and Romans, who came from the countries about Kashgar. Some came down and settled on the banks of the Indus, whence they spread to the Jumna and Chunbal; whilst others went and settled in western Europe (Sweden and Denmark); from them Jutland received its name. Tell His Highness that their chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, were Juts, like himself; their family came from Kashgar and the Caspian, and settled in Jutland; while his part of the family settled on the Indus, spreading to the Punjab. The Juts took possession of Kent, and some of the first kings were Juts, like the Maharajah's ancestors, and both might, with equal justice, boast descent from Odin, the god of war; they also took possession of the Isle of Wight and the Isle of Thanet. All the old Kentish families are descendants of Juts, and of the same race as Duleep Singh. You can show him some of the beauties of Kent, as you go up the Thames, and he will have an opportunity of seeing it if he visits Lord Hardinge. Tell him, with our kind regards, that we would be very pleased if he would present the beautiful ring which he did Mrs. Sleeman the honour of offering her to the first

pretty Kentish girl he sees, and claim brotherhood with her, on the authority of an old Indian officer, his friend, Colonel Sleeman. If she is of pure Kentish descent, he may feel assured that they are members of the same great family! I trust His Highness will cultivate his great talent for music: it will be a great resource to him hereafter.

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

Believe me, my dear Login,

Yours very truly,

W A. SLEEMAN.

At Benares, an addition was made to the party in the person of the Pundit Nehemiah Goreh, a young and learned Brahmin convert, who had joined the missionaries there to work among his country people, but who was induced by the Rev. W. Smith (senior missionary) to accept Login's proposal, and accompany Duleep Singh to England for three years, as his tutor in Oriental languages. Nehemiah Goreh was of the greatest benefit to Duleep Singh; he was so truly earnest, so pure-minded and simple, and his faith so strong, that his example was a living lesson. He returned to India at the expiry of his term to resume his work, unspoiled by all the attention and admiration he had excited.

The hot weather was beginning when the party reached Government House, Barrackpore, where every arrangement had been made for His Highness's comfort, his own carriage and horses having been sent on

Chapter a-head. A note from the Governor-General has
 X.
 1852-54, awaiting Login :—

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Come to breakfast if you can on Monday. There shall be a room ready for you. Of course, this is only if convenient to you. I have sent you a huge memorial from the mother of the brat you have brought, accusing you of many enormities, of which child-stealing is the least !!

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

Of course, since the mother of the Shahzadah had lodged a petition against her son's going to England, the idea was abandoned. Her uncle, Meah Mullick, who came to Calcutta as her *vakeel* to present it, was seized with cholera. He refused the advice or assistance of any other doctor than Login himself, to whom he despatched a messenger in the middle of the night imploring him to come to him ! No time was lost by the "Doctor Sahib" in obeying this urgent summons, and he remained with the poor man till he was out of danger.*

* Extract from official letter dated Fortwilliam, 18th April, 1854 :—

"His Lordship thinks it only just to you to state, with reference to the memorial of the Ranee Duknoo, that the Government entirely acquits you of the charge of attempting to influence the Shahzadah's religion, and to add, that you have not sought to conceal from the Government the reluctance of the Ranee to allow her son to accompany the Maharajah."

A few days after his arrival at Barrackpore, the Maharajah was received by Lord Dalhousie.

Chapter
X.
1852-54.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, April 3rd, 1854.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have ordered the "Sooramooky" to be at Barrackpore to-morrow by ten a.m. The best plan for the Maharajah to follow will be to come down in the steamer, taking tiffin on board, so as to be here by five p.m. I can then have the guard out for him at half-past five, and he can return to Barrackpore by road, in the cool of the evening. For this purpose he can take my carriage to the half-way stables, if you will have his own waiting him there. If he were to come during the day, I can't well have the guard out. He will receive his salute (twenty-one guns) when he lands, and will have the Body Guard troopers if he goes through the town.

Pray impress upon His Highness that while in India he receives all the honours of his rank—in England he will be entitled only to courtesy.*

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

On the 19th April the Maharajah and his party

* *Extract from a Letter of LORD DALHOUSIE to JOHN LAWRENCE:—*

CALCUTTA, April 11th, 1854.

"The Maharajah Duleep Singh is here, and sails on the 19th. He has grown a great deal, speaks English well, has a good manner, and altogether will, I think, do us credit in England, if they do not spoil him there."—*Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. i., p. 452.

Chapter sailed for England. The following is Lord Dalhousie's
X. letter of farewell to his ward on his leaving India :—
1852-54.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *April 18th, 1854.*

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

Before you quit India, I have been desirous of offering you a parting gift, which in future years might sometimes remind you of me.

Since that day, when the course of public events placed you a little boy in my hands, I have regarded you in some sort as my son. I therefore ask you, before we part, to accept from me the volume which I should offer to my own child, as the best of all gifts, since in it alone is to be found the secret of real happiness either in this world or in that which is to come.

I bid you farewell, my dear Maharajah, and beg you to believe me always

With sincere regard,

Your Highness's faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

His Highness MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.



CHAPTER XI

ENGLAND.

THE voyage to England was uneventful. On the deck of the steamer, the young Maharajah bade farewell with great equanimity to all his Punjabi retainers, his mind being full of pleasurable anticipation of all the wonders he was about to see on the other side of the "Kalee Panee."

Chapter
XI.
1854-56.

In Egypt he met with a cordial reception. Through the instrumentality of Mr. Bruce, whose kind offices Lord Dalhousie had bespoken, the carriages of the Viceroy were placed at his disposal. In order that he might have time to see something of the sights in the neighbourhood of Cairo and Alexandria, it was arranged that he should remain in Egypt, until the departure of the following steamer.

In this way, he was enabled to pay a visit to the Pyramids, an expedition which he much enjoyed, and where he, like the boy he was, insisted on organizing a race to the top with his companions, much to the disgust of the Arab guides, who, on these occasions, are accustomed to take forcible possession of the unlucky

Chapter
XI.
1854-56.

tourist, and haul him by main force, from block to block, up the side of the pyramid, demanding blackmail from him, at every particularly perilous point in the ascent, and who regarded the Indian Prince as their especial prey, and as furnishing an opportunity, not to be missed, of unlimited *backsheesh*. They took their revenge, however—these gallant “sons of the desert”—when the party prepared to inspect the interior of the pyramid. Not a second time were they to be balked of their lawful dues; and, once engulfed in the *literally Egyptian darkness* within, their hapless victim was seized on, dragged, pushed, and hustled, where and how they would, till,—what with the confusion, pressure, and especially the stifling heat, caused by bad air, burning torches, and swarms of ill-odorous, half-naked followers of the Prophet,—their “distinguished visitor” was only too glad to re-emerge into the open air, with a very hazy idea indeed as to where he had been (save that it was as near proving his own tomb as that of any old Egyptian monarch!) but not a little surprised to find himself still intact, and that his dusky conductors had considerably refrained from relieving him of even one of his pearl necklaces, but contented themselves with demanding a heavy toll in coin for the privilege of their *attendance*!

Whilst at Cairo, he was taken to visit the American Mission Schools, and was greatly interested to see so many orphan girls being educated in the Christian religion.

While still in Indian waters, at Aden and elsewhere, Chapter
 the regular salute ordered by the Governor-General XI.
 was given the Maharajah, on the vessel which conveyed 1854-56
 him dropping anchor; but there was some uncertainty
 in Duleep Singh's mind as to the exact amount of
 recognition to be awarded him by the Home Govern-
 ment. When on board the homeward-bound steamer
 from Alexandria, therefore, there was a certain degree
 of anxiety in noting the exact number of guns
 fired to greet his arrival at Malta and Gibraltar;
 especially was this evident at the latter fortress,
 where—spite of his well-maintained *sang-froid* before
 his fellow-passengers, who were deeply interested in
 the proceedings—a close observer could discover that
 the Maharajah was in reality quietly counting the
 number, as each report was heard, and when the total
 reached twenty, and there could be no doubt that a
 full “royal salute” of twenty-one guns was intended,
 he could no longer repress the look of satisfaction
 which appeared on his countenance.

On Login's application to the Treasury, Sir Charles
 Trevelyan arranged that His Highness's baggage
 should be passed through the Customs, as is usual
 with royal visitors, and he also obtained, as a mark of
 consideration from the Court of Directors, the compli-
 ment of having a residence provided for him at their
 expense during his stay in England. Until this
 could be arranged, apartments were taken for him at
 “Mivart's (Claridge's) Hotel.”

Chapter
XI.
1854-56.

A close correspondence was still kept up with Lord Dalhousie, whose interest in the reception of the young Prince will be shown by the following letters, written in reply to Login's, announcing his arrival:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA,

August 10th, 1854.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Your letter of 24th June gave me very great pleasure. You have made a most favourable start in your London life, and I have no doubt all will go on agreeably, and upon the excellent plan you have laid down for the Maharajah. He has made a very pleasing impression on those to whom he has been introduced, several of them having already written to me to that effect. My friend, Sir George Couper,* will, I am sure, do all that his own many duties will allow him to do to help you.

Sirdar Lena Singh Majeetia has died at Benares. The Shah-zadah's mother has arrived there, and wrote to me lately. It was a very civil letter, and, among other things, protested that she had never said a word against you in her life!!

We are all very quiet here in India. The king of Ava is sending up an envoy to Calcutta, and Dost Mahomed is "ettling" to be well with us at the other side of the land. I enclose a letter for the Maharajah.

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

* Comptroller of the Household to H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent.

September, 1854.

Chapter
XI.
1854-56.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have had the pleasure to receive yours of July 24th.

The reception that the Maharajah has had, and the pleasing impression his unassuming manners and well-bred bearing have made, are very agreeable to me.

You have done a tidy little bit of business in getting a house out of the Court, and I advise you to rest content with that, and not seek for more "marks of consideration," or they may be anxious for his return to Futtehghur!

Sir G. Couper writes in warm terms of His Highness, he is very happy to be of use to you.

Yours, &c.,

DALHOUSIE.

Duleep Singh had found it convenient, while in India, to adopt a semi-European style of dress for sporting, riding, and boating, as it gave him more freedom of motion. It soon became his ordinary costume, save for formal occasions, and a very handsome, becoming, and picturesque one it was. It consisted of the Sikh, embroidered *coortah*, or Cashmere tunic, and over that a single-breasted velvet coat, richly embroidered in gold; English trousers, with a stripe of gold embroidery down the seams. In his Sikh turban was a jewelled aigrette, and three rows of large pearls were round his neck; frequently he had on other jewels besides these, but he was never without the pearl necklace, and a pair of large emerald-and-

Chapter
XI.
1854-56.

pearl earrings. After he came to England, he only wore his complete national (Sikh) costume, with all its splendid jewels, when he went to Court, or at any great entertainment, but it was not for some years after this that he fully adopted English dress for all occasions. The Court of Directors were agreeably impressed with the unassuming manners and quiet dignity of the deposed young ruler of a warlike nation, and accorded him a friendly welcome. The Queen and the Prince Consort, very soon after the Maharajah's arrival, gave him a special audience, and he returned charmed with the kindness of the Queen's manner to him, and every successive interview added to the warmth of the feelings with which he regarded the Queen and the Prince. Her Majesty gave orders for a full-length portrait of him to be painted by Winterhalter, and for this he gave sittings at Buckingham Palace twice a week. This brought him much in contact with the Queen and Prince Albert ; for they were always present, and greatly amused by his *naïve* remarks on all he saw and heard in this, to him, strange country.

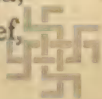
The candour and straightforwardness of his comments seemed especially amusing to the Prince, who delighted in drawing him out, and getting him to talk freely to him.

Duleep Singh contrasted favourably with the generality of natives of India in the truthfulness of his character, and this was encouraged in every way by his guardian, who was most desirous that his love of

truth, hatred of deception, and habit of calling "a Chapter
spade a spade," in which he had been trained, should XI.
not be rubbed off by intercourse with the world. 1854-56.

His zeal for truth, and disapproval of "polite lies," were sometimes unsparingly displayed at this time. On the way back from a large party, on one occasion, he said, "I am afraid you believe the Duke of — to be a good man. Now, I can tell you that he does not speak truth, for I heard him tell Lord A — that he had quite enjoyed his son's visit, and hoped to invite him again, for he was a delightful companion, and he had just before told *me*, that he was nothing but an ass, and not worth my making his acquaintance!" and another time, "Did you hear Lady — praising that lovely Lady —'s dress, telling her she thought it the most beautiful at the Drawing-room? when I had heard her say to Mr. D —, that she looked a perfect fright!"

At a large dinner given in his honour, by a General just returned from high command in India, where he had already met Duleep Singh, the hostess pressed the Maharajah to take some curry she had had specially made for him. She went on to say that no doubt it was very inferior to what he was accustomed to, but she trusted, in that case, that he would honestly tell her if it was not good. The poor boy had been politely endeavouring to swallow a little of the mixture, which was certainly very unlike an Indian curry; but when his hostess said this, he believed she *meant* it, and, putting down his fork and spoon with a sigh of relief,



Chapter
XI.
1854-56.

he ejaculated, "Oh! you are quite right, it is horrible—take it away!" The dismay of the hostess may be conceived! She thought herself an authority on Indian dishes, and this was the *plat* of the occasion!

During a visit to Windsor with the Maharajah, the Queen was graciously pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Login—a mark of royal approbation which gave sincere pleasure to Duleep Singh. The latter's own rank was already determined to be the same as that of an European prince, and as chief of the native princes of India, he was authorized to take precedence next after the Royal Family. Just before this announcement was publicly made, a large dinner party had been arranged, in honour of Duleep Singh, at the house of Sir Robert Inglis, the Primate (Archbishop Longley), Lord Shaftesbury, and other notables being invited to meet him. Poor Sir Robert, who was too good a Churchman to like the idea of any Indian prince (although a converted one) taking precedence of the Primate of the English Church, came in great distress of mind to consult Login as to what could be arranged, to prevent such a scandal taking place in his house! He was assured, that the young Prince would make no difficulty in giving way to the Archbishop, and he went away much relieved. On the way to the house, Sir Robert's dilemma was explained to the Maharajah, and the suggestion made, that he should signify to his host his willingness to come *after*

the Archbishop. Lady Login remembers how eagerly he assented, saying, "I am very glad; *now* the Archbishop will have to take the *oldest* lady present, and this time surely I may please myself. I always get such old ladies!" When he was told of Sir Robert's suggestion, that he and the Primate should walk in *together*, his shout of laughter startled the solemn servants, who were marshalled to usher him in, but his face of dismay, when a *second old lady* was brought up to him, was truly comical!

Chapter
XI.
1854-56.

Sir John Login steadily resisted all the proposals of different religious bodies to bring forward the distinguished convert to Christianity on public platforms, and strenuous efforts were made by the Exeter Hall party to induce him to allow his name to appear in religious and missionary reports.

He explained his reasons fully to Lord Shaftesbury, who acknowledged their force and propriety; and this correspondence was the commencement of a warm and sincere friendship between them. Login's Indian experience being frequently called upon, for the benefit of missionary and philanthropic work, during their many conferences in London, and at Lord Shaftesbury's country house, St. Giles, he was also brought into close correspondence, with the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Henry Venn.

Hitherto, since the arrival of the Maharajah in England, the subject of the Koh-i-noor had not been touched on in conversation in his presence; his

Chapter
XI.
1854-56.

Governor and Lady Login were, however, well aware of his sentiments on the matter, as, indeed, he had made no secret of them. They knew that, to him, "the Koh-i-noor" meant something beyond a mere jewel of fabulous value,—in his eyes, and in the eyes of Oriental nations, it was an object of superstitious veneration, as the symbol of imperial sovereignty over Hindostan, and the countries adjacent, marking its possessor as chief among the rulers of Southern Asia ; it was on this account that Runjeet Singh had made such strenuous efforts to get it into his hands, as setting the seal to his ambitious designs, and for this reason, too, that he never trusted it far from his own person, but had it always conveyed with him, under a strong guard, wherever he went.

Lady Login was present, by special desire, at all the sittings for the Maharajah's portrait, given by him at Buckingham Palace. At one of these, the Queen, in the course of conversation, asked her, "If the Maharajah ever spoke of the Koh-i-noor, and, if so, did he seem to regret it?" observing, at the same time, that she had never mentioned the jewel to him, and would feel a certain delicacy about wearing it in his presence. Lady Login replied, that he had never spoken of it since he came to England, though he had often done so in India, and had been greatly interested in the descriptions of the operation of re-cutting it. Her Majesty then said, that she hoped Lady Login would be able, before the next sitting,

to ascertain what the Maharajah's feelings were on the subject, and whether he would care to see it, now that it was re-cut, adding, "Remember to tell me all he says."

Chapter
XI.
1854-56

The task was by no means an easy one to Lady Login, for she dreaded what the Maharajah might say, and did not wish to bring the matter formally into discussion. No good opportunity presented itself, as the days went on, until just the day before the next sitting, when, as she was riding with him in Richmond Park, she managed to lead the conversation up to the subject. Then trying to put the question in a casual manner, "Would you like to see the Koh-i-noor again?" she waited in some anxiety for his reply. "Yes," was his answer, "I would give a great deal to hold it again in my own hand?" "Why? For what reason?" "I should like to have it in my power myself to place it in Her hand, now that I am a man. I was only a child then, when I surrendered it to Her by the Treaty; but now I am old enough to understand."

The feeling of relief caused by this answer was great, and it was with a light heart she repeated it to the Queen on the following day.

Unknown to the Maharajah, who was engaged with the painter at the further end of the room, Her Majesty at once gave orders for the Koh-i-noor to be sent for from the Tower. After some interval, there was a slight bustle near the door;

Chapter the arrival of the jewel and its escort was an-
 XI. nounced; and it was brought in, and presented to the
 1854-56. Queen.

Taking the diamond in Her hand, Her Majesty then advanced to the dais, on which the Maharajah was posed for his portrait, and, before the astonished young man realized what was passing, he found himself once more with the Koh-i-noor in his hand, while the Queen was asking him if "he thought it improved?" and whether he would have recognized it again?" At first sight, indeed, he would hardly have done so, the cutting and European setting had so altered its character; yet, in spite of these, it remained still the "Mountain of Light," and it was with some emotion and eagerness that he walked to the window and minutely examined it, making remarks on its diminished size and greater brilliancy, whilst the spectators could not help watching his movements with some anxiety. It was a nervous quarter of an hour for Lady Login!

But, when at length he had finished his inspection, Duleep Singh walked across the room, and, with a low obeisance, presented the Koh-i-noor to his Sovereign, expressing in a few graceful words the pleasure it afforded him to have this opportunity of *himself* placing it in Her hands. Whereupon he quietly resumed his place on the dais, and the artist continued his work.

The Queen and Prince Consort held many conver-



sations with Login, on the subject of the Maharajah,* Chapter
and took particular interest in all the details given XI.
them, with regard to his education. The Pundit, 1854-56
Nehemiah Goreh, having been mentioned in high terms
on one of these occasions, Her Majesty expressed a
wish to have him presented to Her; it was arranged
that Sir John should bring him to the Palace, where he
was received in private audience, as the Prince was
desirous of an opportunity of personally questioning
this learned and interesting Brahmin convert.

The Maharajah witnessed, for the first time, the
ceremony of the Prorogation of Parliament, and, by her
Majesty's special direction, was accommodated with a
seat on the "woolsack."

Letter from LOGIN to LORD DALHOUSIE.

ROEHAMPTON, Nov. 22nd, 1854.

MY LORD,

I had the pleasure of seeing Sir G. Couper a few days ago,
and he mentioned that he had acquainted your Lordship, by last
mail, that it was Her Majesty's intention to confer the honour of
knighthood upon me, so that your Lordship will have been
prepared for the announcement of it in the *Gazette*. It has been
as much a spontaneous act of Her Majesty's favour, as it is
possible to be, and can only be considered in the light of a com-

* Her Majesty was very anxious thoroughly to understand the Maharajah's
history and position, and by her request, Login drew up a memorandum on the
subject for her private perusal, from which document much information in the
earlier portion of this work has been culled.

Chapter XI. 1854-56. pliment to the Maharajah, and a token of Her Majesty's high approval and encouragement. For my own part, I must confess that I should feel more easy under my new dignity, if a good many others, who have far higher claims, were equally honoured. Sir James Melvill, while expressing his own satisfaction at this mark of Her Majesty's approval, assures me that it has been highly gratifying to the Court of Directors.

The Maharajah expresses himself much pleased that Her Majesty has thus honoured me, but he is shrewd enough to see that the compliment will be fully more useful to himself than to me.

It was Sir James Melvill himself who suggested that I should look out for a larger and better residence for His Highness than that at Wimbledon, which was the only one available at the time, and this was backed by Sir Frederick Currie and Sir George Pollock. I mention this, in case you may think that I have been asking for more "marks of consideration" from the Court of Directors!

At the Treasury, I have found Sir Charles Trevelyan most anxious to help me, and, through his kind representations, the Maharajah has been exempted from income-tax, and all other assessed taxes. This has been done without any official representation, or question as to its legality, merely as a matter of expediency, and by private reference to the Inland Revenue Board, which Sir Charles has had the kindness to arrange for me. I am anxious, however, that the Maharajah should be fully aware of the value and extent of these exemptions and "marks of consideration" which have been shown to him; and I have given him to understand that I have not been exerting myself merely to give him a greater amount of money to hoard up, but to enable him to be generous and liberal. His natural disposition is, I am afraid, very much the reverse of this; indeed, at times, I am ashamed of his stinginess; but so long as I find him willing to agree to any act of liberality I may recommend, I ought not to complain that he never originates any!

As it is now time that he should begin to take an interest in his own accounts, I propose to make over to him the management and direction of all charitable disbursements as a commencement, and to show him how much he has it in his power to be bountiful, in consequence of the liberality which has been shown to him.

I intend, in addition to his ordinary allowance for charitable purposes, to place to the credit of this fund for benevolent purposes—

1st.—The amount saved to him by the liberality of the Court of Directors in furnishing him with a residence during his stay in England.

2nd.—Amount saved by exemption from income and assessed taxes.

3rd.—By remission of import duties on his baggage.

4th.—Discount on tradesmen's bills, and, perhaps, the table allowance paid by me, on account of myself and family.

In his position, and with the disposition he evinces, I think it will be very desirable to set off all these items, in order that he may see how much the liberality of others has placed in his power.

Whether he may apply it all to benevolent purposes will depend on himself. He has already, out of this fund, agreed to give 1,000 rupees for yearly prizes at the schools at Amritsur, near Lahore; £100 to the Patriotic Fund; a donation of £500 to an Institution for Destitute Natives of Distant Lands, of whom there are now so many in London, and is to subscribe £250 annually for its support during his stay in England.

ROEHAMPTON, Dec. 23rd, 1854.

I have to thank your Lordship for your kind letters of Sept. and Oct. 21st. I am very much gratified to hear that Her Majesty should have Herself informed you of the good impression which

Chapter the Maharajah had made, and of the genuine interest which she
 XI. takes in him.

1854-56.

I have already acquainted your Lordship that the Maharajah has had an opportunity of meeting the Coorg Princess, and that he was favourably impressed with what he had seen of her. She is, indeed, an amiable and engaging little girl, and, so far as one can judge, is likely to turn out well. Mrs. Drummond has brought her several times to visit my wife and children, and the Maharajah has also twice called on the Princess and Mrs. Drummond, with me. I am, however, very anxious, that any advances towards intimacy should come from himself, and I know that, although he is inclined to be pleased with her, he is rather apprehensive of leading her to expect too much from his attentions! I have little doubt, if it were not for her father's character, and the dread he has of coming into contact with him, he would be more disposed to cultivate acquaintance with her. As I have, however, been lately engaged in reading the History of the Sikhs with him, and especially Carmichael Smyth's "Reigning Family of Lahore," he perceives that, in respect to their parents, they are similarly situated, and that the same feeling which may prevent him from wishing to be connected with the Rajah of Coorg's family, is likely to be an obstacle to his forming an alliance *elsewhere*.

I have thought it right that he should be aware that everything regarding his early history is known in England, and that the attention and kindness which have been shown to him have been caused by a desire to encourage him to raise himself out of the mire of treachery, murder, and debauchery, in which, but for God's grace, he would have been overwhelmed. As he is now able to appreciate the difference between the standard of Christian morality, which he ought to aim at, and the miserable debauchery from which he has escaped, I think that the perusal of the history of the Sikhs, and of his family (which he acknowledges to be on the whole correct), is likely to be useful to him, especially if accompanied with remarks, introduced with sufficient delicacy, by

one who has his welfare much at heart, and that it is calculated Chapter
 not only to render him contented, but most thankful to have XI.
 escaped from the dangerous position in which he had been placed. 1854-56.
 Your Lordship is doubtless aware that Her Majesty has been
 pleased, after due consideration, to give the Maharajah the rank
 and precedence of an European Prince. When the Queen did me
 the honour to ask me what were the Maharajah's own wishes on
 the subject, I said that His Highness was so confident of Her
 Majesty's goodwill towards him, that he was satisfied that she
 would graciously order what might appear best for him. In con-
 versation with Colonel Phipps, regarding the manner in which
 His Highness was to be received at Osborne, I agreed with his
 suggestion, that the Maharajah should go down to the Isle of
 Wight to reside for a short time, and be invited to dine frequently
 at Osborne, being received and treated as a subject of high rank ;
 and I was therefore taken by surprise when Colonel Phipps
 informed me, some time afterwards, that it had been, on consider-
 ation, determined that he should have the rank and precedence of
 an European Prince. I mention this, in case you may think that I
 have been taking any part in this elevation.*

The Maharajah was made very happy during his
 visit to Osborne. The Queen and the Prince Consort
 treated him with the most gracious kindness, and

* It is the intention of the Queen to invite the Maharajah to come down here
 for a couple of days early in next week. . . . I will take care that one of Her
 Majesty's yachts shall be in attendance in the docks . . . to bring His High-
 ness over. You are probably aware that, after deliberation, Her Majesty has been
 advised that the Maharajah is entitled, in this country, to the same rank and pre-
 cedence as an European Prince.—*Quotation from a letter to Login from Sir Charles*
Phipps, dated Osborne, Aug. 14th, 1854.

Chapter all the royal children made much of him, treating him
XI as if he were one of themselves. The Princesses
1854-56. introduced him to their special domain—the Swiss
châlet in the park, which was fitted up for them with
all conveniences for cooking and housewifery; here
they entertained him and their brothers, and
exhibited their skill in cookery. The Maharajah
thoroughly appreciated the joke, when the Princes,
affecting greater proficiency in the art of boiling
potatoes, basely took forcible possession of the cottage,
locked out the rightful owners, and, with Duleep
Singh's valuable (!) assistance, proceeded themselves
to prepare the repast.

From this time forward, a correspondence was
established, between the Maharajah and the young
Princes, and many letters (now extant) bear witness
to their cordiality and friendliness towards him.
Birthday-presents were exchanged, and sketches
executed by the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred
are still to be seen, treasured in the same book with
photographs of the Royal Family, taken by the
Maharajah on one of these visits, with the friendly
assistance of the Prince Consort. In some of these
photographs, the young Princes are seen dressed in
the Maharajah's Indian costumes.

The Queen never forgot the Maharajah's birthday;
as regularly as it came round arrived the royal
birthday-gift. A valuable thorough-bred hunter was
the first of these; he also received, at different times,

a dog, a beautiful time-piece, and other gracious tokens of her kindly interest in him.

Chapter
XL.
1854-56.

At Lord Hardinge's invitation, the Maharajah, Sir John and Lady Login paid a visit to South Park, near Penshurst. They spent here a delightful week among the pretty Kentish scenery, and the Maharajah did his best to carry out Sir William Sleeman's injunctions!* As the Maharajah's horses had been sent down beforehand, the party were able to take many rides, and thoroughly explore the neighbourhood around. The late Governor-General (then Commander-in-Chief in England, in succession to the Duke of Wellington) was a fine, hale-looking, old man, with the remarkable bright-blue eyes peculiar to his race, and it was with a grand, old-world courtesy that he received as his guest the ex-Sovereign, whose armies he had defeated in three bloody fights, yet whose crown and kingdom he had magnanimously spared.

This was Duleep Singh's first experience of English country life ; later on, with Sir John and Lady Login, he went down to Scotland for a short time, and from Edinburgh, paid a visit to Lord Morton at Dalmahoy. On the return journey, they stopped for a week at Hickleton Hall, in Yorkshire, belonging to Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax); at Wentworth, the seat of Earl Fitzwilliam; and at Teddesley, Lord Hatherton's place in Staffordshire; and thus

* See *ante*, p. 326.

Chapter extended his acquaintance with the homes of English
XI. noblemen.
1854-56.

He thoroughly enjoyed English life in all its phases, and acquired a keen taste for sport. As he was very anxious to get some shooting in the Highlands, Castle Menzies, in Perthshire, was hired for a period, from Sir Robert Menzies, and the two or three succeeding years of his English life were mostly passed there, the house at Roehampton being occupied merely during the winter and spring months.

It had been decided by Lord Dalhousie that Duleep Singh should attain his majority at the age of eighteen, although, according to Sikh custom and the Treaty of Bhyrowal,* his minority would end when he became sixteen, when, had he not been deposed in 1849, he would have been left to himself to manage his kingdom. As time was now passing, the Maharajah was naturally anxious to know what arrangement (if any) was contemplated for his future; and the following letter to Lord Dalhousie will show that at this early period the question was already being pressed, by Login, on the attention of Government:—

WIMBLEDON, Oct., 1854.

Sir Charles Wood has no doubt told your Lordship the opinion he had formed of the Maharajah, on closer acquaintance, during his visit at Hickleton, and he told me, that he had also communi-

* See Appendix.



cated with you on the subject of his settlement on coming of age. Since the visit to Hickleton, His Highness has spoken to me on the matter, and I think it right that your Lordship should be informed of the views he entertains, in order that I may be able, before the question is settled, to prepare His Highness for such an arrangement as may be decided upon. On mentioning to the Maharajah that it was very desirable that the arrangements for his settlement on coming of age should be made while your Lordship remained in India, he quite agreed with me. And I then asked him what his own wishes were on the subject? He said that his own wishes at present were, not to receive an assignment of land or any estate from Government, as in that case he would feel under obligations to reside there, and could not, perhaps, have the power to dispose of it, if he wished to do so, but that he was anxious that such accumulations as may have taken place during his minority, by lapses of pensions from the allowance of "not less than four lakhs, and not more than five lakhs, per annum," to which he and his family and servants were entitled by the Treaty, should then be made over to him, and that from that sum he could appropriate a part to purchase an estate, and allow the balance to be deposited for him in Government securities. His Highness is evidently under the impression that the "not less than four lakhs" mentioned in the Treaty were to be allowed to him and his family and servants in perpetuity, and that he is entitled to such accumulations as may take place by lapses of pensions from this fund; and, as your Lordship may view the matter in a different light, it is very necessary that you should be apprised of it, to prevent any future misunderstanding.

I told him that I should mention his wishes to your Lordship, and also to Sir Charles Wood, but said, at the same time, that he might rest satisfied that whatever justice and goodwill towards him might dictate would be done.

As His Highness had never before so decidedly expressed his own



Chapter wishes, I am anxious that your Lordship should know them, and
 XI. that you will favour me with your instructions. . . . I shall, of
 1854-56. course, say nothing on the subject to him, until I hear from your
 Lordship.

Since his return to Wimbledon, he has been applying himself assiduously to his studies. My letter from Edinburgh would give all particulars of His Highness's visit to Dalhousie Castle. He certainly enjoyed his stay at Hickleton Hall, where he made many new acquaintances, and, I think, made a very favourable impression on all.

Yours,

J. S. L.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *Nov. 11th, 1854.*

MY DEAR LOGIN,

It gave me great pleasure to receive letters from you and the Maharajah when at Edinburgh, and to learn that you had paid a visit to my children, at the Castle.

You may well believe that I anticipate my daughter Susan's coming with great delight, not free, however, from anxiety regarding this pestilent climate. I have resolved to go next summer to the Neilgherries, as practically the nearest point to Calcutta at which I could take refuge. We are all very quiet here in India. Instead of a Russian army from Cabul, we have received a friendly mission from the Ameer, and I am in daily expectation of a similar mission from the King of Ava. Your former potentate, the King of Oude, is very ill. He has "wined, womened, and wasted" himself to death's door, and I fear we shall have that wretched Government prolonged, throughout another minority. Old Sleeman is quite done. Colonel Outram is to act, and will, no doubt, remain permanently.

I remain, my dear Login,

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

ROEHAMPTON, *April 9th*, 1855.

Chapter

XI.

1854-56

MY LORD,

The Maharajah continues to apply himself to his studies, and has made much more progress than formerly, because he now puts some heart in his work. At present he devotes his attention to the German language, which, from its affinity to the Sanscrit and Hindu is, he thinks, more likely to be useful to him than French.

Perhaps his intercourse with the Prince Consort has been a spur to application in this particular branch. He has great facility in acquiring languages, however, and this is likely to be very useful to him, if he travels. Among his other accomplishments, he is learning photography, with much success. This also has been greatly encouraged by the Prince Consort, who has taken great interest in his progress. He has had the honour of dining with Her Majesty several times since I last wrote, and continues to receive most kind attention. The Queen has caused a likeness of him to be published, from Winterhalter's picture, and I think the artist has been most successful. I am happy to say that he does not appear to be in any way spoiled by these attentions; he seems to appreciate them in a very proper way. On receiving your Lordship's last letter, I explained to him (as you requested me) his mistake in supposing that lapses from the four lakhs were to fall in to him to increase his allowances. He listened in silence, making no remark, but appeared satisfied to trust his future settlement, on coming of age, to the justice and liberality of your Lordship and the British Government.

I mentioned in a former letter that His Highness intended to subscribe liberally to get up a Home for Strangers—Asiatics, Africans, &c., visiting London. He was present at a meeting held for the purpose a fortnight since, and there is every prospect of the institution being successful. I am quite aware of the danger to be apprehended, in allowing him to occupy too

Chapter XI. 1854-56. conspicuous a position in such matters; but I trust, with prudence, to avoid all risk, and, at the same time, enable him to effect much good; this seemed especially an object which he ought to help.

I think I told your Lordship that I was engaged in making up a conveyance for the wounded in the field. I think I have been successful, and that I have been able to turn my Indian experience in such matters to good account.

With earnest wishes for your restoration to health,

I remain, &c.,

J. S. L.

Jan., 1855.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Your description of Duleep's life in England is really very gratifying. If this lad does not grow up with right notions and principles, and well-directed sentiments, it certainly will not be your fault. I agree with you, that if he will only follow when rightly led, we need not be disappointed that he does not lead the way. . . . I have no right to consider you under my authority at present; but you may be assured that the unrestrained correspondence between us is a real pleasure to me. The Queen has again mentioned to me the Maharajah's second visit, and she also alluded to the Coorg affair. I am glad to find that it promises well, and I hope may come to something, although, like other cases of "true love," it may not always run smooth!

I am very shaky, and nearly done.

I beg to offer my most sincere congratulations to Lady Login, which I omitted to do before, when I wrote to congratulate you.

Believe me, my dear Login,

Yours very truly,

Duleep Singh's education continued all this time to be regularly carried on by masters for the various subjects, and, on the whole, he made very fair progress, though there was always a difficulty in keeping his attention alive. He had a great admiration for Shakespeare, even if he could not quite reach the same pitch of enthusiasm as his English master, who, to the amusement of his pupil, always spoke of "the divine William" as an *emanation*! In the study of German he made some advance, but Italian was his favourite European language; and as he contemplated a lengthened residence in Italy during the following year, his Italian tutor, Signor Montanari, accompanied him to Scotland, to continue his instruction. The Rev. Henry Estridge, an Oxford coach, was at the same time engaged as resident English tutor, and remained in that capacity, and as companion to the Maharajah.

Soon after coming to England, Sir John Login obtained from Lord Hardinge a commission in a Queen's regiment in India for Charles Boileau, and received from a member of the Court of Directors the promise of a cadetship for the other brother, Frank. He had thus the satisfaction of seeing both lads launched in the world under favourable auspices. Entering the Company's army, Frank Boileau* landed in India

* Now Lieut.-Colonel commanding the Mhairwarra Battalion.



Chapter just before the Mutiny broke out, served at the siege
XI. of Delhi, where he was severely wounded, and was
1854-56. obliged to invalid home in 1859.

The Boileaus having left, Duleep Singh now found congenial companions in the young Leslie-Melvilles, sons of the Earl of Leven, who lived near him at Roehampton. With them he had constant intercourse, and greatly enjoyed their society, and that of other lads of his own age. Granard Lodge, the house at Roehampton, then occupied by the Maharajah, could only be got for six months, but Ashburton Court was afterwards secured for as long as he cared to live near London.

Young Tom Scott had come to England with his mother for his education some time before this, and was, later on, sent by Login to a tutor at Wimbledon, to prepare for the army. Mrs. Scott, after remaining two or three years in Europe, returned to India in 1856. Just before sailing, in December, she came down to Ashburton Court on a visit to her friends, and then Login undertook to see after her son, whom she was leaving behind her. He was enabled, through the kindness of Sir Henry Rawlinson, to procure him a commission in the Indian army.

Poor Mrs. Scott ! Little did those who then bade her farewell dream of the awful death she was going forth to meet, and that her son, on following her to India, would be met on landing by the terrible announcement that his mother, brother, and sister,

were among the first victims of the outbreak of the Chapter
 mutiny in the vicinity of Lucknow ! XI.
 1854-56.

Sir John was beset by requests from photographers and illustrated papers for permission to take Duleep Singh's likeness for publication ; but this he always steadily refused, on the plea, that the Maharajah was in England for the purpose of study, and had no desire to court notoriety.

Besides the portrait by Winterhalter, the Queen ordered a bust of the Maharajah to be executed by Baron Marochetti, which, by Her Majesty's directions, was afterwards "*tinted*" by Mr. Millais, somewhat in the style which Gibson's "*Venus*" rendered so much in vogue at this period.*

Addiscombe was at this time the Military College of the East India Company, and the Maharajah having, at Login's suggestion, given a yearly prize to be competed for by the cadets, he was present, as the guest of the Governor (Sir Frederick Abbott), at the annual inspection and prize-giving, and was an interested spectator of the "sports," although neither then nor afterwards did he evince any special military tastes.

The close of the Crimean War brought to the notice of the public the hard case of many discharged soldiers, who had faithfully served their Queen and country.

* A bust of the Princess Victoria Gouramma of Coorg was treated in the same manner : they are both to be seen now in the gallery at Windsor.

Chapter yet whose pension was insufficient to form their sole
 XI. support, and whose wounds disabled them from earning
 1854-56. their livelihood in any save the lightest forms of
 employment. Sir John Login was one of the first to
 urge their cause, and—before the Corps of Com-
 missionaires was formed, of which he was one of the
 original promoters—he was the very first to set the
 example of employing these men in positions of trust,
 by taking into the Maharajah's service, in the year
 1855, six of these wounded heroes as stablemen, house-
 porters, and gardeners.

One of them, Harry Naylor, a handsome young
 dragoon, had been in the famous "Balaclava Charge,"
 and his appearance as a groom in the Maharajah's
 livery, his breast covered with medals, attracted much
 attention on the part of strangers.

At Castle Menzies the Maharajah received at
 different times many distinguished visitors,* and met
 with much kindness and attention from the neighbour-
 ing landowners, particularly the Marquis of Breadal-
 bane and the Duke of Athole, whose acquaintance he
 had already made in town.

The friendly intercourse with Taymouth was a

* Among these were most of the chief officials at the India House, viz., Sir James Hogg and his son Colonel Hogg (now Lord Magheramorne), Mr. Vernon Smith (Lord Lyveden), Sir James Melvill, Sir George Pollock (afterwards Field-Marshal), Sir Frederick Currie, Colonel Sykes, &c. . . . also Mr. Dudley Marjoribanks (Lord Tweedmouth), the Earl of Leven, Lord Hatherton, Mr. John Bright, Mr. Ellice, M.P., and many others.

pleasant feature of the sojourn at Castle Menzies. Chapter
 Lord Breadalbane (at that time Lord Chamberlain), XI.
1854-56.
 entertained as his guests a constant succession of
 eminent personages, to many of whom the Indian
 Prince was an object of great interest; in this way, he
 met Archbishop Tait (then Bishop of London), the
 Bishop of Oxford (Samuel Wilberforce), Lord
 Clarendon, the Duke of Leeds, Mr. Delane, editor of
 the *Times*, Lord Bathurst, Lady Ailesbury, Lord
 and Lady Kintore, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

Great amusement was created at Castle Menzies on
 more than one occasion when the Duke of Athole's
 party arrived to luncheon, having driven all the way
 from Blair Athole, a distance of about fifteen miles, in
 the so-called "boat-carriage." It really consisted of a
 boat on wheels; and however convenient it might have
 been—as the Duke was fond of pointing out—for
 crossing rivers or lochs, it could scarcely be called an
 elegant equipage, or comfortable for a long journey.

The Duke of Athole persuaded the Maharajah to
 adopt the "kilt" for shooting on the moors, and
 undertook the ordering of one for him from his own
 tailor!

Seeing their master wearing the Highland dress,
 the ambition of several of the Maharajah's English
 servants was fired to exhibit themselves also in that
 becoming costume. Thornton, who had accompanied
 His Highness from India as his valet, often attended
 him on the moors wearing the kilt; but this fell far

Chapter short of the ambition of Russell, the butler, who went
XI. in for a full-dress costume of the royal tartan, with
1854-56. sporran, silver ornaments, and all complete ! Being a
fine-looking man, no doubt he thought the result
repaid him.

One evening at dinner, Lady — asked Sir John what distinguished visitor had called at the Castle that afternoon ? as she had been absent at Taymouth. He named several ladies, but Lady — enquired if no *gentleman* had been there ; because, she said, as she drove over the Weem Bridge, she met an aristocratic-looking stranger, in full Highland dress, evidently on his way to the Castle, and she was afraid that her admiration must have been expressed in her countenance, for he *actually blushed* as he gracefully doffed his cap ! Both Sir John and the Maharajah had seen the person in question, and knew it to be Russell, who was at that moment filling the lady's glass with wine, which, in his trepidation, he managed to spill all over her and the table, and so created a diversion, under cover of which he effected his escape from the room !

Picnics were a great delight at this time ; the house-party used to go out on the moor and meet the sportsmen at an appointed spot, where luncheon was spread. Ponies were allotted to the ladies, each led by a gillie, or groom, and it was very amusing to see the competition that went on to get the " Balaclava hero," Harry Naylor, as escort.

At one of these picnics, a renowned professor, who had come from London to teach the Maharajah botany, fell a victim to his ignorance of entomology; for, selecting a nice green grassy hummock as his seat at lunch, in the middle of the repast he suddenly precipitated himself with a yell into the centre of the table-cloth, knife and fork in hand, having discovered that he was sitting on an ant's nest all the while! Later in the afternoon the Professor was found testing the depth of the various pools in the neighbouring burn on his way home!

The Maharajah was able once more to indulge his passion for hawking, and his hawking-parties attracted much attention and curiosity, as the revival of an old sport now almost obsolete in Britain. John Barr, the well-known falconer, was in his service, and no expense was spared in securing first-rate falcons.

The small group of houses known as the "toun" of Weem lay just outside the gates of the park at Castle Menzies, and here was the parish kirk which the family and household attended every "Sabbath." The long sermons then usual in the Scottish kirk were rather a tax on Duleep Singh's patience, though his behaviour was most exemplary, even when the metrical Psalms were led off by the precentor, with the aid of a tuning-fork,—ostentatiously exhibited as if it were a species of musical instrument—and though the situation was rather trying for him, when, after praying for the Queen and Royal Family, the old

Chapter
XI.
1854-56.

Chapter minister invariably added a petition, enumerating the
XI. particular graces he desired for "the Prince now
1854-56. sojourning amongst us."

An amusing incident occurred one Sunday at the Free Kirk, Aberfeldy, which some of the household were in the habit of attending in the afternoon.

The day was very sultry, and the congregation consequently rather somnolently inclined; especially was this the case with the Castle Menzies' servants, who were tired with their long, dusty walk. The text was from Acts xvi. 14—"Lydia, a seller of purple," and the voice of the minister, a noted preacher, acted on all as a soothing charm; when, perhaps, becoming aware of this fact, he suddenly thumped the pulpit cushion, and raising his voice, declaimed in stentorian tones, "And—Lydia—." Instantly, to the amazement of the preacher and congregation, a voice from the gallery replied, "Yes, Sir John!" while an unfortunate stillroom-maid, whose name happened to be Lydia, being observed at the same time standing erect in her pew and gazing round with bewilderment and consternation, revealed at once the fact that here was the author of this unseemly interruption, self-convicted of sleeping during the sermon!

The adulation paid to the young Prince at this time, especially by ladies, was not calculated to produce a beneficial effect upon him, though, to his credit be it said, he seemed to prefer the plain-

speaking, or honest censure, by which his friends sought to counteract such lavish and unwise flattery. There is no intention to portray Duleep Singh as a perfect character, or saint. He was surrounded by temptations of an unusual sort, yet had hitherto led a blameless life as regards morality. Some infirmities of temper, indolence, or selfishness, showed themselves with, perhaps, the Oriental tendency to be indifferent to suffering. Of the latter, an instance may be given :—

During the first shooting season at Castle Menzies, when the house was full of guests, there arose one evening at dinner much chaffing talk amongst the young men concerning a cat which had been shot, when discharging their guns near the village, on their way home. Sir John "hoped it was not a poor woman's pet." Duleep Singh "did not care if it were ! It had no business there !"

Lady —, a devoted admirer of the Maharajah, when enlarging afterwards in the drawing-room to the other ladies on his gentleness and amiability, undertook to prove her words, by dressing up in character as the poor woman who had lost her cat, in order to excite his compassion.

On the entry of the gentlemen, therefore, a poor, weeping woman was found in the billiard-room, "waiting to see His Highness." So pathetically did she relate the story of the loss of her favourite and only companion, her "puir cattie," that young

Chapter
XI.
1854-56

Chapter
XI.
1854-56.

Alick Lawrence, Sir Henry's son, was moved almost to tears, and, stepping forward, entreated her to "cry no more! it distressed him to think of the accident—would she accept ten shillings from him as a small compensation?" &c. This was not what Lady — wanted, so she redoubled her efforts to gain some sign from the Maharajah.

He stood unmoved the while, save that his eyes blazed with anger. At last, losing patience, he burst out, shaking his billiard cue in her face, "Yes! cry, cry till you are tired! Don't let your brutes cross my path. Not a penny shall you get from me!" Then, laying no gentle hand on her arm, "*Begone*, I say!"

At this moment Lord —, recognizing his wife, and thinking the joke had gone quite far enough, addressed her by name, and she, to the Maharajah's consternation, dropped her disguise, which had been so perfect that none had suspected it.

One of the few ladies present lately gave this account to Lady Login, who was herself an invalid at the time.

Possibly the contrast between his own conduct and that of young Lawrence might have been more apparent to Duleep Singh, had he not been assured by Lady —, when he tried to apologize for his discourtesy, that she "had only admired his princely air of command," and felt "he was every inch a king when pointing her to the door," &c.

Letter from SIR HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B.

Chapter

XI.

MOUNT ABOO, *June 10th*, 1856.

1854-56.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Many thanks for the Maharajah, Lady Login's, and your kindness to my son Alick. I will be glad of your taking every opportunity to urge on Alick the necessity of exertion, at this period of his life. You have been accustomed to deal with youths, and might influence him much. He is very amiable, but unenergetic. I fancy, too, that in spite of all I have said, he does not realize the *need* for steady application. I am very anxious about him, soul and body! This is his time of trial, for he is surrounded by temptations, that nothing but the grace of God can protect him from. I shall be most grateful for any help you can give.

We have good accounts of Duleep Singh from different quarters; our friend Mr. Jay writes me, that he has received a very gratifying letter from him. I am sorry, on many accounts, that Mr. Jay refused the Chaplaincy of Kussowlee, even though a good man has got it. Mr. Jay now wishes to get a hill-station, on account of his child's health. I hope he may get Dugshaie. I am anxious to get good men of moderate temper near Mr. Parker, as fly-wheels on his energies. The asylum, now that the lower orphan school is added to it, will be an engine of great good. I have often been surprised that the Maharajah has never *himself* given me a rupee for it, especially as he must know *you* do.

You have made him give liberally to other Indian charities, but doubtless you have a delicacy as regards mine, from our personal friendship.

I should have thought that his kindly feelings towards me would have induced him. While he was in India, I did not feel justified in mentioning the subject to him, and even now I don't wish you to do more than show him the last report, and say that the Asylum is in debt.

Chapter I have built a school here for fifty, and have twenty-three
 XL children always. I hope soon to have another at Neilgherries.
 1854-56. With kindest love to Lady Login.

Ever yours affectionately,

HENRY M. LAWRENCE.

P.S.—I enclose a letter to the Maharajah.

The following year, Duleep Singh, having gone to the Highlands early in the season for salmon fishing, wrote from thence to his guardian :—

CASTLE MENZIES, *June 30th, 1856.*

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

I enclose in this a note for the Prince of Wales; will you kindly send it on?

I intended to write to you before, but there is little to write about. We are getting on pretty well with our housekeeping, and are all well. I did not catch a salmon, as I hoped, the day you left; but as soon as I catch one *myself*, it shall be sent straight to Lady Login, at Roehampton.

I commenced lessons seriously this morning with Mr. House, and hope to get on very well with him. I trust to hear that Lady Login, and all of you, continue to be quite well. When will Lady Login and the children come to Castle Menzies, for I begin to feel very lonely without them? I miss them dreadfully. I hope Hancock sent the things I ordered for the little one. With my love to the children.

I remain, yours affectionately,

DULEEP SINGH.

P.S.—Please bring the "Treasury of Histories" when you come. It was packed for India.

CHAPTER XII

ITALY.

[Readers already satiated with descriptions of Italian travel are recommended to skip this chapter.]

As a tour on the Continent formed part of the scheme for the Maharajah's education, it was arranged that, previous to his return to India, he should spend some months in France and Italy. Accordingly, in December, 1856, he left England, accompanied by Sir John and Lady Login, and by his friend, Mr. Ronald Leslie-Melville (then an undergraduate of Christ Church, Oxon.), whom he had persuaded to join the party. To avoid publicity, and ceremonious receptions at the various foreign Courts, it was thought advisable that the Prince should travel as a private individual, under the name of "Mr. Login."

As the party travelled in the old-fashioned style, taking their own carriages with them from England, the following quotations, from a diary kept at this

Chapter
XII.
1856-57.

Chapter period, may prove amusing to those unfamiliar with
 XII. the Italy of thirty years ago :—
 1856-57.

CANNES, Jan. 2nd, 1857.

Made our first essay, at Marseilles, in travelling by post, in our own carriages, for there is no more rail after that place. You would have been amused to see the carriages starting—a long string of horses to each, and each postillion dressed differently; one only had any pretension to being smart, and he had jack-boots, a sheepskin coat, a conical hat with a flower in it, and a pipe in his mouth! We pitied him very much, for it was a hot day, and he must have been nearly boiled in that warm coat, after bumping up and down so long (for he did not rise in his stirrups like an English postillion). The horses are great, heavy, strong animals, all decorated with bells. The harness is wretched, and always breaking, being mostly of rope; the traces are *always* rope, and very insecure. One postillion manages four horses, sitting on one of the wheelers, and guiding those before with reins. We enjoyed the posting very much, and all got out and walked on through the villages, when we stopped to change horses. In the evening we reached Brignolles, our halting place; the cracking of the postillions' whips, as they come near their destination, is something astonishing; it is like a succession of pistol shots let off close to your ear. . . .

Next day we ascended the Esterelles pleasantly, but our descent was not so comfortable. The view from the mountain, on going up, is beautiful, and, as the sun was setting, it looked to perfection. The waters of the Mediterranean were so bright and blue, the hill-sides covered with cork trees, pines, and olives, varied with jutting crags; deep ravines and frightful precipices (without any parapet) below us, with the bold outline of the mountain tops beyond, made a glorious panorama. At the post-house on the top we remained so long, owing to some delay about the horses

(on going down we had four horses only, though coming up we had ten), that the gentlemen walked on, and I was to follow in the carriage. It was nearly dark when at last we set out, and, to make up for lost time, the postillion set off at a hand-gallop, and I was very nearly upset over the precipice before he could pull up. When we overtook the gentlemen it was quite dark, and, as they got in, the postillion was warned to go carefully; but nevertheless, before long, the same thing happened again, and we were brought up *bump* against a post! In a minute we were all out, and the first thing we saw was Presanzini, the courier, and Thornton, thrashing the postillion, whom they had discovered to be drunk! Here was a nice dilemma! still five miles to the bottom, and no help near. We decided on leaving the drunken postillion behind, with Presanzini and Mr. Cawood (the Maharajah's secretary) in the *fourgon*, to wait till we sent a sober driver, and we took the lady's-maid in the rumble, with Thornton. Taking the sober postillion from the *fourgon*, we reached Cannes very late, for we had a further adventure with a jibbing horse, that seemed very anxious always to look in at the carriage windows, instead of going along quietly.

A most amusing dinner party at the —. The Maharajah would not go, but made some excuse of having a cold. Sir D. Brewster and the Anstruther-Thompsons were there.

A little girl, a niece of the hostess, was introduced at dessert. She had evidently heard of the Maharajah, and was very anxious to see him. She was talking to me in the evening, after dinner, whilst I was sitting beside her aunt, and when her aunt happened to express great regret that the Maharajah had not come, the little girl suddenly said, "Is he really a blackamoor? What is a blackamoor?" Her aunt looked perfectly horrified, and exclaimed, "What a vulgar expression! I am ashamed of you!" evidently thinking I must be greatly offended; and the child was seized on by the uncle and asked, "Whom she could have heard speak of the *Prince* in that manner?" With the utmost *naïveté*

Chapter she at once replied, "Now, aunt, you know *you* said so this morning, to Miss Crow!"

XII.
1856-57. Poor Mrs. — looked so relieved when she heard me invite the little girl to pay me a visit in the morning to see the black Prince! The Maharajah was much amused when he heard the story, and made himself very agreeable to the little girl, who went home delighted.

We enjoyed our stay at Nice very much, as we had lovely summer weather. A picnic was arranged to Villafranca and St. Hospice, by Major Reynolds, in the Maharajah's honour, to which all the *elite* of Nice were invited; but the Maharajah had one of his obstinate fits, and it was with much difficulty we prevailed on him to go. He consented at last, with the stipulation that I would keep near him, and not leave him alone among all those strangers. He does so hate to be lionized, and be looked upon as a sort of natural curiosity! The excursion to Villafranca is usually made on donkeys, but as the Maharajah could never be persuaded to mount one of those animals, very good horses were provided for us. The ride there and back was beautiful; the first part of the way across the mountains, and the rest all along the shores of the Mediterranean, by a rocky footpath, overhanging the sea, just fit for donkeys, though we found our horses more sure-footed than the less noble animals ridden by the rest of the party. We were all very merry, particularly when entering Nice, on our way home, for a wicked little donkey-boy (who seemed to think I approved of the measure) would, every now and then, give a sort of scream, as a signal to the donkeys; on hearing which, the animals set off, helter-skelter, at a tearing pace. No matter who was riding them, lady or gentleman, there was no holding them! The ladies screamed, and several of the party, I believe, had tumbles from their "Jerusalem ponies" before we got up to them, owing to their falling on their knees scampering down hill; indeed, I saw one gentleman roll over his donkey's head—for the creatures would *halt* as suddenly as they started, with an abruptness calculated

to launch their riders into space! Being mounted on nobler steeds, who were deaf to the cries of the donkey-boy, we could survey the scene in safety ourselves, and the absurdity of it was altogether too much for the Maharajah's politeness, for, I regret to say, he went into such fits of laughter that he nearly tumbled off his horse himself!

We were engaged to a large party at Lady Ely's in the evening. It was a great crowd. Several of the Empress of Russia's suite were there, for the Elys seem great friends with the Empress, though the rest of the English society here are very indignant at the airs the Russians give themselves. It is a great pity, there seems to be such a bad feeling between them, and it is difficult to say on whose side the fault lies. When the Empress came first, she used to go out in great state, with outriders preceding her, armed with long whips, which they cracked loudly, ordering every carriage to draw up to the side till Her Majesty passed. This several English refused to do, and complained of such overbearing conduct to the authorities; so, as it was feared that the place would suffer by the withdrawal of the English visitors (they having threatened to do so), Her Majesty was induced to adopt a quieter style, and now she drives about in a more unassuming manner. We met her returning from some church ceremony, attended by her Court ladies, all in *full* evening dress! She looked very ill and delicate. The Grand-Duchess Helen was expected this evening, but could not leave the Empress, who was unwell.

I met several old acquaintances here, amongst others, Lady William Harvey, who was our neighbour on Putney Heath. Lady Ely introduced me to Lady Dufferin, and young Lord Dufferin, who is one of Her Majesty's Lords-in-Waiting. He was very amusing, and I cannot quite make out whether his pretty lisp is real or affected! *

* Little did the Maharajah dream, on this occasion, that a day would come when he should stand arrested as a disaffected subject, by order of this same Lord Dufferin, then Viceroy of India!

Chapter Expected to have found John Bright at Mentone, as Mr.
 XII. E. Ellice, M.P., had told us Mr. Bright was looking out for us, at
 1856-57. his desire, but he had not arrived.

GENOA, Jan. 19th. Sir John slipped down some steps at the Hotel de la Ville, from the slipperiness of the marble, so, to guard against evil effects, is to keep quiet for a day. We have, therefore, given up the idea of going to see Turin from here, thinking it will be better to do so on the return journey.

Jan. 20th. Put off our departure, as Sir John did not feel quite recovered. John Bright having come in to spend an hour or two with him and talk politics, the Maharajah, Ronald Melville, and I set off to visit the Fieschi Convent, on the hill above Genoa. It was very interesting, and amusing also, as we were escorted by two nuns (neither of them young nor pretty), and shown all over the place; they seemed charmed to have a chat with our *laquais de place*, and entered into any joke that was made by us with great glee. We saw their dinner laid out, and a small decanter of wine for each nun; they laughed heartily when we said we *hoped* they did not drink all their allowance! Their dormitories looked very clean and airy, but no washhand-stands were visible, only a little pump of water outside the door in the corridor! Their pillows were like pin-cushions, and I wish you had heard them laugh when the Maharajah asked how they managed bolstering-matches with them, he and Ronald illustrating what he meant, to the nuns' intense delight!

We also went to see the famous Catina, or emerald dish, kept at the Duomo, and said to have been presented to King Solomon by the Queen of Sheba. The Maharajah was very anxious to examine it, having been told it was the largest emerald in the world; and being exceedingly proud of the size and lustre of his own (the emeralds of Runjeet Singh were celebrated), he was, therefore, immensely relieved to find that it was only a piece of green glass after all. . .

FLORENCE. Florence is famed for its flowers and flower-girls; the latter mostly large, coarse, good-natured-looking *contadine*, who all wear enormous Leghorn hats flapping about their faces. They are most persevering in their attentions, and *will* decorate you with a bouquet *per force*, though, as they always *wait to be paid*, their attentions are not quite so disinterested as strangers at first imagine! I used to laugh heartily at the way they victimized both the Maharajah and Sir John.

Chapte
XII.
1856-5

We drove to the Cascine, or dairy of the Grand-Duke; on the way we met the Grand-Duke himself, and his suite; also the young Grand-Duke, and his bride. We had the use of Lord Normanby's (the English Ambassador) box at the Pergola, and went three times; the music was good, but the singing and acting very poor. That, however, does not matter to the Florentines, as they merely go to the opera to pay visits to their friends, as we do at their houses, during the day, in England. The first time we went to hear a new opera, called *Violetta*, which the Maharajah had never heard; by the time it was half over, we discovered it to be the *Traviata*, under a different name! and we had always refused *on principle* to hear the *Traviata* in England! The other two were *La Sonnambula* and *Linda di Chamouni*. On Saturday we had a pleasant dinner-party at Lord Normanby's, and heard a good deal of singing afterwards. We met all the diplomatic "swells" there—Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, the French Ambassador, the Piedmontese, Duc de L——, also the Tuscan Prime Minister, and Baron Hugel. Maria Phipps and her son were there also.

One evening, when we were dining at the Embassy, the great bell of the Duomo began to toll. Immediately a Florentine nobleman, who was of the company, rose from the table and with a word of apology to the hostess, quietly left the room. The rest of the assemblage seemed to regard his action as the most natural in the world, but the Maharajah was very curious to know the reason for it. "He is one of the *Misericordia*

Chapter XII. 1856-57. Brothers," was the reply to his question ; " and he is on duty to-night." After that we heard more about the Misericordia, and several times met their procession in the streets, carrying litters with sick people, going to the hospital. They look ghastly in the extreme, with their long black dresses, which cover them from head to foot, having round holes for the eyes. The people hold them in great respect ; and when they pass, all uncover their heads.

The Society is composed of noblemen and gentlemen of Florence, and the Grand Duke himself is one, though, since the Revolution, he has not ventured to take any part in the duties. They dress in black monastic attire, with a black silk visor to conceal their face ; a certain number are told off daily for duty, and on the tolling of the city bell—whatever is their employment or engagement—they must hasten to their guard-room, and assume the dress, and go out to perform their duty, whatever it may be—whether to carry sick to the hospital, or to rescue sufferers from any danger or accident. So many are appointed to go forth collecting for their charity fund, and the first person I saw on arriving, was one of them holding a box for charity. I was quite startled—he looked like a demon in his dark dress, with his eyes flashing through the holes in his visor. . . .

ROME. I was delighted with the Coliseum, and I think I should like to spend hours there. Nothing in Rome, I think, recalls the idea of former grandeur and present decay more than that magnificent pile, so full of historical interest. Inside, all around the amphitheatre, they have erected "stations" for pilgrims to walk or crawl round, for penance and indulgences, and there is a great cross put up, and a pulpit, where a friar preaches frequently. All this is incongruous-looking, and I wish it were altered. . . . Just as we left the Coliseum, the Pope (Pio Nono) drove past in a carriage and four, with an escort of the Guardia Nobile, formed of Roman nobles. He is a very benevolent-looking old gentleman, and gave a special benediction to our party as he passed, though the Maharajah did not receive it at all

in a proper spirit, and declared the Pope had only made "snooks" at him! We were told that we were very lucky, as he is not often to be seen out. The guard of French soldiers all knelt as he passed, and so did everybody but ourselves; of course, the gentlemen took off their hats to him, as they would to our Queen. . . .

The moon being full, Ronald returned to the Coliseum, to see it by moonlight; as I have still a cough, I did not venture. We advised him not to fall into the same mistake as is attributed to Mr. Macaulay, the historian,* who also went to see the Coliseum by moonlight, and when in the shadow of the arches, was suddenly jostled by a man, who passed with great rapidity. Immediately afterwards Mr. Macaulay missed his watch! The "thief" was still in view; with great presence of mind, Mr. Macaulay at once gave chase, overtook, knocked him down, and repossessed himself of the stolen article. Fearing the arrival of accomplices on the scene, Mr. Macaulay now made the best of his way home, where the first object that met his view was *his own watch*, safe in the spot where he had left it before going out! Overwhelmed with the idea of the robbery which he had committed, he rushed off to the police-office, to find an unfortunate stranger describing with much excitement the shameful outrage of which he had been the victim!

Feb. 12th. Went to St. John Lateran. The "Santa Scala," or Holy Staircase, was crowded with penitents, going up on their knees, repeating a prayer at every step. Nothing would serve the Maharajah, but he must also try the sensation of this form of penance, which he declared was not at all difficult, and he would undertake to do it much faster than any of them! The steps are covered with planks, to preserve them from the wear of the pilgrims' knees, and these planks have already been renewed

* The late Lord Macaulay.



Chapter three times ; the steps themselves, are said to have been those of
 XII. Pilate's judgment seat, down which Christ walked after being
 1856-57. condemned. We visited Macdonald's studio, and saw a number
 of busts (mostly of English nobility), and a fine copy of "Young
 Augustus"; we ended by going to Saolini, the great cameo-
 cutter, and arranged to have our profiles taken by him, next
 day.

Feb. 13th. Mr. Gibson showed us his studio to-day, and
 we were delighted with all we saw. His "Venus" is beautiful;
 the hair is tinted in imitation of ancient Greek statues, and the
 skin has a faint life-like glow. The "Cupid" also is very lovely.
 I admired his bust of the Queen, but, though the large statue for
 the Houses of Parliament is greatly admired, I did not think the
 likeness was so good. There was a beautiful thing there, "The
 Sleeping Cenci in Prison," just finished by his pupil, Miss
 Hosmer, a young American lady. Arranged with Mr. Gibson
 about sittings for the Maharajah's bust.

Feb. 14th. To-day, shortly after noon, the great bell of
 St. Peter's tolled to announce the beginning of the Carnival, and
 at two p.m. we went to the Corso, and sat in our hired balcony to see
 the procession pass. It is a very gay scene, and full of animation.
 The whole street is choked with people in gay and fancy costumes,
 shouting and laughing, leaving barely space for the brightly
 decorated carriages, filled with people, all attired in fancy dresses,
 and having on wire masks, who pass up and down slowly. The
 balconies and windows are full of ladies and gentlemen, and gay
 with flags and draperies of all colours; each person has a store of
 chalk *bon-bons* or *confetti*, bouquets of flowers, and real *bon-bons*,
 which they fling at every passer-by; the balconies throwing at
 the carriages, and *vice versâ*. Every one wears a wire mask, or
 runs the risk of being blinded by the chalk dust; even with a
 mask one does not escape scatheless. Every now and then,
 gay processions of the military, civic authorities, or cardinal-

magistrates varied the scene, and the whole was wound up by a race of six or more horses (without riders), goaded on by steel plates hanging loose all over their bodies, and stuck full of sharp spikes, which flapped about as they galloped, and urged them almost to madness. This race is repeated each day of the Carnival, and formerly used to be run by poor unhappy Jews, for the amusement of the people! but of late years they have purchased exemption from this degradation, by paying for handsome prizes, for the owners of the fortunate horses.

The Maharajah and Ronald joined the procession of carriages, and went up and down, pelting and being pelted by gentlemen, and exchanging bouquets with ladies; but I contented myself with looking on.

Sunday, Feb. 15th. On our return from the English service, we went with John Bright into San Carlo, to hear Dr. Manning preach* on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and were glad to find that his arguments and reasoning were so miserable. I expected to hear much more specious reasoning. He gave several very far-fetched interpretations to several texts, to give colour to his own side of the question. Poor man! he certainly seems very earnest in his belief himself; he looks worn-out with penance and fasting, and his voice is quite weak. It was quite lost in that great church. He is evidently a trap set for the English and American visitors, who are all attracted by his eloquence and good style of delivery.

Feb. 17th. Rather sleepy after last night's ball at the Princess

* . . . Dr. Manning is to preach to-morrow afternoon in the church of San Carlo, perhaps Lady Login and yourself, may wish to hear him—he will not, I suspect, overthrow your Presbyterianism, any more than the faith I hold with the Society of Friends!

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN BRIGHT.

Feb. 14th, 1856.



Chapter XII. 1856-57. Doria's. It was a grand sight, and a rare one, for the magnificent picture-gallery was lighted up, and many splendid rooms. There were a great many royalties there—the reigning King of Bavaria, Queen Christina of Spain and her daughters, and, I believe, “Henri Cinq,” Comte de Chambord—though I did not see him. We were introduced to the Princess Doria, she is one of our Shrewsbury family.

The Caldwells, and John Bright, with his pretty daughter Helen, have just dined with us, and gone home early, as is the good custom in Rome. We were a merry party, Mr. Bright very eloquent about the *wrongs* of India, to the Maharajah's infinite amusement! and Colonel Caldwell giving us histories of what was done in Lord Wellesley's, and Lord W. Bentinck's time! I have promised John Bright to go out with him in the carriage to-morrow, and run the gauntlet up and down the Corso. His daughter is very anxious to do so.

Feb. 18th. Went for an hour in the carriage with Mr. Bright, as agreed upon. We were deluged with bouquets and bon-bons, and all sorts of harmless missiles, and thumped with distended bladders. Poor Helen Bright had to mourn the loss of a lovely bouquet of sweet violets, just presented to her by a gentleman, which was snatched out of her hand, by a laughing imp of an Italian boy. Her father scolded her for not having kept a tighter hold; but next minute the laugh was turned against him, for his own bouquet was snapped away out of his hand as he was in the very act of presenting it to a lady!

Feb. 10th. Went out on the Campagna, near Cecilia Metella's tomb, to see the hounds throw off. We managed to keep up with them *in the carriage*, by going at a hand-gallop along the Appian Way, as the fox doubled back and forward across the road. We were just in front of the King of Bavaria's carriage, and his people were calling to ours, to make way for His Majesty. But this did not at all fall in with the ideas of our

coachman, whose sense of his own importance would not suffer him to give place to anybody; so whipping up his horses he kept the "lead" throughout the chase!

Chapter
XII.
1856-57.

Feb. 20th. The masque ball was a very curious sight. We engaged a box at the theatre, so as to look down upon it without being crushed, and were constantly invaded there by parties of ladies and gentlemen of our acquaintance, all in masks and dominoes. It is ridiculous what a complete disguise a domino is, for Fred Kane and Ronald, who were of our own party, left us, and came in again, and we never knew them, and Sir Norton Knatchbull never recognized his own wife!

Mr. Bright was in our balcony that morning, looking on at the Carnival, and got into a combat with Lady Knatchbull, on the opposite side of the street. She got the worst of it, for "the Quaker" made a capital shot with a sugar-almond, which effectually silenced the enemy's guns! As she was an utter stranger to him, we had to introduce him at the masque ball, in order that he might make his apologies for the result of his combativeness!

25th, Ash Wednesday. At half-past eight, Ronald, Sir John, and I, started for the Sixtine Chapel, to see the Pope put ashes on the cardinals' heads. We could not persuade the Maharajah to go with us, as he declared, when he went to bed the night before, that now the Carnival was over, he did not know when he would get up again! As ladies must dress in mourning to gain admittance to this ceremony, I wore a long black veil instead of a bonnet; Sir John his political uniform, and Ronald full evening dress!

We got there a few minutes before the door was opened, and were greatly amused to see the anxiety of those assembled to get in *first*, though there was plenty of room for all. One very fat lady was sitting on the doorstep, in such a way that the door

Chapter XII. could not be opened till she rose. She looked as if she had sat there all night—her hair and veil were so untidy !

1856-57. I was separated from the gentlemen, as men and women are not allowed to sit together,—and Sir John, from his uniform, being supposed to be *at least* an ambassador—I was handed into the large pew, specially set apart for the ambassadors' wives. It was empty, and remained so all the time. (I suppose the ambassadors are all bachelors.) During the service I observed the ambassadors all highly amused at seeing the solitary lady who represented their womankind, and each seemed to ask the other who on earth I was? Sir John was asked to go in among the ambassadors, but declined, and went with Ronald to a less conspicuous place. It was lucky he did so, for every one of the ambassadors present had to go and kiss the Pope's toe afterwards !

At last the procession of cardinals came in, with their attendants ; and after their robes (or rather the skirts of them) had been unrolled and smoothed down, they were assisted up into their perches, and displayed to our admiring gaze a collection of as heavy, sensual, worldly-looking countenances (with only one or two exceptions) as could anywhere be found.

Soon after, in came the Pope—a fine-looking old man—with a great crowd of officials, the most important being a bishop in golden boots—of which portion of his attire he appeared very proud—and whose privilege it seemed to be to take the Pope's mitre off and put it on again at intervals of about five minutes. Six or eight people were kept constantly occupied, in assisting the Pope to get up, sit down, kneel, turn to the altar, and bow, at different parts of the service. The Pope chanted the service beautifully ; he has a splendid, clear voice. The cardinals changed their robes frequently, and when the time came for them to go up to be sprinkled with ashes, they put white napkins on their backs, and *over* that grand gold vestments, and went up, one after another, holding their little scarlet skull-caps in their

hands. The Pope put the ashes on the crown of each head, just on the tonsure, and then they kissed his hand, still kneeling. After the last cardinal had retired to his place, the King of Bavaria advanced and went through the same ceremony—save that he, and all those who followed, had to kiss the Pope's *toe* instead of his hand; then came Queen Christina's husband, and all the big-wigs and ambassadors. It was rather a shock to one's feelings, remembering the original meaning of this solemn ceremonial, to see how, as soon as the Duke returned to her side, the Queen of Spain, assisted by the Princesses, at once set to work—amid much smothered laughter—to blow at his hair, and dust off his clothes all traces of the ashes, using for the purpose their own handkerchiefs, and also a clothes-brush, with which they had come ready provided! This occupation, and the merriment it caused, lasted them throughout the remainder of the service. Meanwhile, the stream of people continued to pass up and back, till nearly everybody in the church, including the soldiers, had been sprinkled by the "Holy Father," and it was not till one o'clock that all was over, and we returned to the Hôtel de Londres thoroughly tired.

Feb. 26th. Mr. Gibson took us round to see all the principal studios, and pointed out the beauties of each work of art. We visited, amongst others, the *ateliers* of Mr. Spence, Mr. Penry Williams, Signor Tenerani, the great Italian sculptor, Wolff, the German one, and Miss Chawner.

Feb. 28th. We had an amusing party last evening. Sir Charles Nicholson, Mr. Gibson, and Mr. and Miss Bright dined with us. There was a great deal of table-rapping, and Sir Charles gave a most interesting account of Egypt, where he has lately been travelling. This evening we dined at Colonel Caldwell's, and met a large party, amongst whom were the Baron von Orlich and his wife. The Baron recognized Sir John

Chapter as an old acquaintance, having met him in India, some years ago,
 XII. when on his travels there.
 1856-57.

March 2nd. Baron von Orlich kindly got us permission to see the Etruscan Museum of the Marchese Campana, and escorted us to see it. This evening was fixed for a treat to which we have long been looking forward.

As a special compliment to the Maharajah, the Pope gave orders, to have the sculpture galleries of the Vatican lighted up with *flambeaux* for his inspection, and we were permitted to invite a select company of our friends to enjoy, at the same time, this unique opportunity of viewing the statuary, under such favourable conditions. A man with a torch was stationed behind each statue, while Mr. Gibson and Mr. Macdonald gave us a sort of art-lecture, showing the special points in each figure and their relative degrees of beauty. We enjoyed it all very much, and it has added greatly to the interest and usefulness to the Maharajah, of this visit to Rome. For this special favour from "His Holiness" we are, of course, indebted to the good offices of Mr. Odo Russell, the representative here of the British Government.

March 7th. Visited the Quirinal Palace, which is the Pope's summer residence ; saw his private apartments, and a few good pictures.

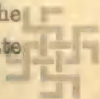
March 9th. Went to a party in the evening at Mr. Forbes', the clergyman's, house, and met Mrs. Beecher Stowe. Had a long conversation with her, and found her agreeable and amusing ; altogether a younger and more pleasing person than I had imagined.

March 11th. Took the Brights to Tivoli with us for a picnic, and spent a delightful day. Spread our luncheon on the grass, in the gardens of the Villa d'Este, and in the basin of a dried-up fountain, in the centre of which was a stone galley, the Maharajah seated himself to personate Neptune, as he informed

the company, though he was too much engaged with a game-pie Chapter
to spare much time for flourishing his fork as "trident!" After XII.
luncheon we started to see the waterfalls, Miss Bright and I 1856-57.
mounted on respectable ponies, the gentlemen walking. We
enjoyed our five-mile ride exceedingly, though I think the
gentlemen found it very hot, for I observed the Maharajah toiling
along with his coat off, in his shirt-sleeves! On our way home
we nearly met with an accident. The two "politicians" (Mr.
Bright and Sir John) were too deep in discussion on the present
condition of India, its needs, and its future government, for any
one to dream of separating them; so we left them to follow by
themselves in one carriage, whilst Miss Bright, the Maharajah,
Ronald, and I, went on in the other. The two young men were
in high spirits, and were making a great noise in the carriage;
something went wrong with the harness, and the coachman got
down to put it right, when either the voices, or something else,
startled the horses, and off they dashed, leaving the coachman
behind on the road! We were only saved from imminent peril
by Ronald's agility, in clambering on to the box and getting hold,
somehow, of the reins.

March 12th. Left Rome on a lovely morning, and travelled
along the Appian Way, on our road to Naples; our route having
been carefully and minutely made out for us, by kind Baron von
Orlich, so that we might not miss any of the points of interest.
We had no adventures with brigands, the line of road is so well
patrolled, by both horse and foot soldiers, and there are military
stations at short intervals, all along to Molo de Gaeta.

March 14th. It was dark when we reached the gates
of Naples, and as the hotel was a long way off, we were very
weary of dragging through the streets at a foot's-pace, for
travelling carriages are forbidden by law to go any faster in the
streets. At last we reached the Hôtel Vittoria, and, after a late
dinner, got to bed.



Chapter
XII.
1856-57. From Naples the party visited Pompeii and Herculaneum, and ascended to the crater of Vesuvius.

March 20th. Dined at the Stranges', and met some nice Italian families. We were much taken with the young Marchesa Bugnano, and her husband and mother-in-law. The Dowager Marchesa is an Irish Roman Catholic—a sensible old lady, who treated Sir John to all the politics of Naples. Her son, the Marchese, is quite a Neapolitan, having been educated on the Continent; yet he is a great admirer of England and English liberty, and speaks English very well. His pretty wife is a fascinating creature, the daughter of one of the Neapolitan princes. She is very lively and amusing.

I was also introduced to Captain Farquhar, R.N. He commands the frigate lying off this port, to protect the English inhabitants in case of any outbreak. He told me he knows several of my sailor cousins, and had been Flag-Lieutenant to my uncle, Admiral Patrick Campbell, at the Cape of Good Hope.

Naples was left on the 24th March, and the party proceeded by steamer to Leghorn, calling at Civita Vecchia on the way. Stopping for one day in Florence, they went to Bologna, having had some difficulty in crossing the Appenines, for an avalanche of snow had carried away great part of the road, thus rendering it impassable for horses. The travellers were obliged to get out and walk, and bullocks were procured to drag the carriages over this part; during this operation the pole of the *fourgon* snapped, which caused a further delay. At Padua they joined the railway again, and so reached Venice by the first of April.

April 4th. We saw two *live* horses, belonging to the Austrian General, being exercised on the Campo Marto, followed about by a crowd of admiring boys. It seems that, a few years ago, some of the Venetian gentlemen, anxious to teach their daughters to ride, united together, built a riding-school, and made a ride round a small island in the town. When, however, the horses arrived, they were looked upon by the inhabitants as a show—very few of the people ever having seen one; and at last the whole project had to be abandoned, owing to the noise and excitement of the children, hurrahing and shouting after the riders, so as to render the horses quite unmanageable from fright.

Chapter
XII.
1856-57.

Monday, April 13th. Since last Monday we have been very anxious about Ronald, who has been very ill of gastric fever. To-day, however, I am thankful to say, we have been able to send a message, by telegraph, to his mother, to tell her that the fever has left him, and that he is now doing well. In consequence of this, I have been only able to go on the water now and then, as I could not leave Ronald, except for a short time daily.

There was a grand military funeral the other day—such a display of troops, and firing of cannon, under our windows, when they were all drawn up! I was glad, for poor Ronald's sake, when it was all over! The hearse was a gondola, and the procession on the water was very curious and interesting. Our *laquais* told us we were very *lucky* to have been here to see such a *gay* funeral! There will be some more of this *gaiety* soon, for the bells have been ringing to announce the death of the Bishop, or Cardinal, who has been long ill.

On Easter-day I went into St. Mark's, to see the Arch-Duke go in procession to high mass. It was a curious ceremony. The Arch-Duke Maximilian (afterwards Emperor of Mexico), brother of the Emperor, is Viceroy of Italy; he is a fair-haired, simple-looking youth, and appeared rather nervous during the ceremony, and very glad when all was over, without any open mani-

Chapter festation of hatred on the part of the Venetians to their Austrian
XII. masters.

1856-57. The Maharajah has kindly fed the pigeons of St. Mark's daily, and now they know him, and follow him all over the town !

The Brights arrived on Easter-day, having been detained in Rome by Miss Bright getting measles ; they came and dined with us last evening, also Major and Mrs. Young, from the Punjab. The Maharajah felt unwell just before dinner, and Sir John made him take a hot bath, and go to bed. I hope he is not going to take fever. This morning he is better, though not well, and we have resolved, as he seems nervous about remaining in Venice, that, if he is well enough, he shall go on to Padua, or Milan, on Thursday, in my charge, leaving Sir John to follow with Ronald. I am in hopes, however, that Ronald will be strong enough to go also, on Thursday.

PADUA, *April 15th.*

The Maharajah not being at all well, and Ronald better, we thought it wiser to get away from Venice at all risks : so here they are—and they both seem, so far, none the worse for the short trip of one hour by train. We had Ronald carried in a chair ; but the Maharajah was able to walk, though far from well. We hope they may be able to go on to Verona to-morrow.

We left Venice so suddenly, that all our clothes were at the wash, and as Thornton and Mrs. Sandison were needed to attend on the invalids, we could only spare Mr. Cawood to remain behind, and bring on the remainder of our luggage. It appears it is a rule of the Austrian railway authorities never to allow a man to take any clothes belonging to a woman out of the town, unless there is a woman in his company, and *vice versâ*, a woman is not permitted to travel with any man's-clothes among her baggage. We were all, of course, quite ignorant of this regulation, and so, when poor Mr. Cawood innocently showed our boxes at the Custom-house, he was horrified to find himself at once treated as a suspicious character by the police, for having so large a quantity

of clothes in his possession, more than they thought could possibly belong to one man alone! Their suspicions were confirmed, on the further discovery, that a great portion of his luggage consisted of *ladies'* habiliments, and as, when questioned as to whether there was any *lady* with him, he told them, quite innocently, that there was *not*, the affair began to wear a serious aspect for him! He tried his best to explain the position to them, and how it happened that he was found in possession of other people's clothes—but all to no purpose. They could not make out half he said, and thought he was declaring the clothes to be his own; to his consternation and wrath, they then proceeded to pull about my things—flourishing a smart lace cap in his face and asking, “if he wore *that*?”—and, shaking out one of my nicely starched and frilled petticoats, sarcastically inquired whether “*this* were a usual article of his attire?” After this they formally arrested him as a thief escaping with stolen property! and would have put him then and there in “*durance vile*,” only that he begged that the landlord of our hotel should first be sent for. On this man vouching for his respectability, poor Mr. Cawood was suffered to *return* with him to *Venice* (the landlord being made answerable for his safe keeping), and the clothes were detained until next day, when Presanzini was sent to claim them, and satisfied the Austrian police as to the truth of Mr. Cawood's story.

April 16th. Still at Padua, and likely to be for some time, as the Maharajah had regular intermittent fever last night, and now we must let him and Ronald rest here. It is a good thing we have got them out of Venice; this is a tidy, clean town, and we have good medical advice, and excellent rooms at the Hotel de l'Etoile d'Or.

BRESCIA, April 20th. We came here by train from Padua, to-day. The patients are both very weak, particularly Ronald. I only hope they may not be stopped here for more than this night, for

Chapter XII, 1856-57. it is a very uncomfortable sort of place; the stables being directly under our sleeping and eating rooms, causes a most unpleasant odour to pervade the whole, which cannot be very wholesome for sick people.

MILAN, *April 22nd*. Dr. Cappelli says that Ronald may be laid up for six weeks, as he has got miliary fever on the top of gastric (a common sequel to Venice fever in this unpleasant country). The Maharajah has also felt ill to-day, and is laid up—so matters are not very bright! We have thought it advisable to telegraph to Roehampton, and tell them how things stand with Ronald. He would like his mother to join him, I think.

April 28th. Mr. and Mrs. Melville,* with their old nurse, arrived last night, having travelled night and day; they reached us on the fourth day after leaving Roehampton.

TURIN, *May 2nd*. Reached Turin last evening. Baron Solaroli found us out, and came and spent the evening with us. Sir John knew him in India; he married a sister of Dyce Sombre's, and, of course, has got lots of money with her. He is a very intelligent, gentlemanly man.

3rd May, Sunday. Went to English service, held in a private house by a converted Jew; it was very strange to hear the prayers and sermon given in English by a foreigner, with a strong accent.

Sir James Hudson, the Ambassador, called to offer his services, and also Mr. Erskine, Lady Wiltshire's brother. Baron Solaroli came, with his daughter, a pretty young woman, newly married to Count ——. The Baron will bring his wife to meet us at the train to-morrow, as she is not well, and could not come to call.

Next day the party crossed Mont Cenis, into Savoy.

*The late Earl and Countess of Leven and Melville.

At St. Michel, where they slept, the inn could only furnish eight trout and six eggs, for the party of seven famishing folk ! Luckily they had with them some hermetically-sealed soup for the Maharajah and a cold chicken ; and, as they always travelled with a supply of English tea, they did not do so badly.

Geneva was reached on the 6th of May. Here they made a halt of five days, before starting on their homeward route. They made several excursions on the lake, and revelled in that glorious Alpine scenery. They had also the pleasure of making the acquaintance of many members of that cultured society, which has rendered Geneva so famous in the religious world, and among men of letters ; this privilege they owed, in great measure, to Sir John's previous acquaintance with M. Merle d'Aubigné, who was on the look-out for him, and to the kindness of Lord Shaftesbury and the Rev. Henry Venn, who had written of Login to their friends in that city.

Chapter
XII.
1856-57.



CHAPTER XIII.

THE MUTINY.

Chapter XIII. 1857. THE annexation of the kingdom of Oude, which took place in the previous year, was an event in which the Maharajah naturally took the deepest interest, as it was the first case of the deposition of an Indian sovereign which could in any way be compared with his own;* and the handsome terms offered to this "discrowned debauchee,"† by Lord Dalhousie, were a hopeful augury of the liberal interpretation which the Indian Government was prepared to place upon the treaty forced upon himself in 1849.

Captain Trotter thus describes the causes which led to this annexation :—

† "Ever since Lord Hardinge's visit to Lucknow, in 1847, the affairs of Wajid Ali's kingdom had been steadily declining from

* Though, even in this instance, Wajid Ali had never been an independent king, like the Maharajah of Lahore, and he was deprived of his crown for his own malpractices as a ruler.

† Trotter.

‡ Trotter, "*India under Victoria*," p. 317, ch. x., vol. i.



bad to worse. In that green garden and teeming granary of India, every man did that which was right in his own eyes, from the King himself, amidst his fiddlers, buffoons, and dancing girls, down to the humblest followers of his Court. The two years of grace allowed to the royal debauchee passed by, and, in 1849, the Resident, Colonel Sleeman, reported no change for the better, nor any hope of such change, whether in the King's own conduct, or in the general state of things in Oude. . . . The King's favourite fiddler was made Chief Justice, and a singer acted as Vazir for a King who never troubled himself about public affairs. In short, there was no such thing as government, law, or justice throughout the land. Such was the state of things reported by Sleeman, in 1851, and such, or even worse, did his successor, Colonel James Outram, find in 1855." Chapter
XIII.
1857.

Small marvel was it, therefore, that the two men should unite in petitioning the Governor-General to put an end to this condition of affairs by "enforcing his treaty rights against a dynasty which in fifty years had broken all its pledges again and again," and besought him to "assume the government of a country whose native rulers had long proved their unfitness."

In response, Lord Dalhousie laid before his Council a minute, unfolding his plans for the future government of Oude. "His chief design therein was to show the utter disregard evinced by the Oude princes to the treaty of 1801, which bound them to 'govern well and justly, and *always to advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsels* of the officers of the Honourable East India Company.'" On referring the question to the Court of Directors, a reply was sent out in November, 1855, which reached India in January, and was construed by Dalhousie into a direct order to annex; in accordance with which instructions, Outram, on the 4th February, appeared before Wajid Ali, the bearer of a letter from the Governor-General, and with the draft of a treaty for signature.

The new treaty declared that "the sole and exclusive adminis-



Chapter
XIII.
1857. tration of the civil and military government of the territories of Oude shall henceforth be vested for ever in the Honourable East India Company, together with full and exclusive rights to the revenues thereof. For Wajid Ali himself, and his heirs, was reserved the title of King, with full sovereign rights over the palace at Lucknow, and park at Dilkusha, a yearly pension of twelve lakhs (£120,000), with three more lakhs for his body-guard,* and due provision for all the members of his family."

But these, or any terms, Wajid Ali refused to sign; he submitted to his fate, but preferred to retain a right of protest.

Delaying the execution of his orders till the 7th of February, on which day a short note from the King confirmed his previous resolution of refusal to ratify any treaty, Outram issued a proclamation of Lord Dalhousie's, declaring the annexation of Oude an accomplished fact. As Chief Commissioner, he took over formal charge, despatched civil commissioners to their stations, and marched in British troops; no resistance was offered from any quarter. "Over the whole face of things there stole a change as complete as any produced by the shifting slides of a magic-lantern. . . . Neither in India nor in England were many voices raised, at the time, against a measure which the great Proconsul had carried through, less in accordance with his own ideas, than with the virtual commands of Leadenhall Street and Cannon Row.† By refusing to sign the new treaty, Wajid Ali had pronounced the doom of a dynasty which had reigned only by British sufferance ever since Sir John Shore had

* This body-guard, composed of Seedees (pure black Africans, or Soudanese), was the King's pet hobby. Their uniform was most gorgeous, and immense sums were lavished on their equipment. Wajid Ali was continually devising new uniforms for them; and, at every grand review, they would appear, attired from head to foot, in an entirely fresh colour; so that one day they might be seen all in blue, *even to their boots*, and on another occasion transformed into green grasshoppers, or yellow butterflies!

† Trotter. vol. i. p. 321.

displaced the son of Asaf-ud-daula by a ruler of his own choice. . . . Few people questioned the right of the Paramount Power to enforce against a refractory vassal the treaties which he and his forefathers had steadily broken for so many years past."

Chapter
XIII.
1857.

Even the *outside* amount offered to the Maharajah Duleep Singh, of *five* lakhs of rupees yearly, "for the support of himself, his relatives, and servants of the State" (with which, however, he was quite satisfied), looks rather meagre beside this *fifteen* lakhs (£150,000) per annum, destined for the King of Oude and his amusements alone!—*other* due provision being made for the members of his family.

Before proceeding to Italy, in 1856, the Maharajah wrote the following letter:—

*To the CHAIRMAN and DEPUTY CHAIRMAN of the HON. COURT
OF DIRECTORS of the EAST INDIA COMPANY.*

CLARIDGE'S HOTEL, Dec. 9th, 1856.

GENTLEMEN,

Having now attained an age at which, according to the laws of India, I am entitled to assume the management of my own affairs, and being anxious, before my intended departure for India, in October next, to have everything relating to my future position clearly defined and settled, I have to request the favour of you, at your earliest convenience, to bring the subject to the notice of the Hon. Court of Directors, in order that sufficient

Chapter time may be afforded for such reference to the Governor-General
XIII. in Council as may be required.

1857. In taking the subject of my future settlement into consideration, I hope that the circumstances in which I have been placed under the protection of the British Government, may receive due attention.

Having at the early age of ten years been required to resign the throne of the Punjab, and, with the advice and approval of my then ministers and guardians, to accept the terms offered to me by the Government of India, I readily consented, believing the conditions to be as fair and liberal as under the circumstances could be obtained.

Although I still consider them to be such as my ministers and guardians were justified in recommending me to accept, and very gratefully acknowledging that the kind and liberal consideration which I have experienced from the Government has left me no cause to regret that I placed myself, with so much confidence, under their care, there are, nevertheless, certain restrictions as to residence imposed upon me by Treaty which, however prudent at the time, are now, in my altered circumstances, felt to be irksome, and certain conditions as to the amount of income to be assigned to me, which, if carried out in accordance with the literal interpretation of the Treaty, may place me and my family in a less favourable position than the ministers and their families by whom the Treaty, on my behalf, was made. I trust, therefore, that in considering the subject of my future settlement, the whole circumstances of my position may be carefully reviewed, and that such provision may be assigned to me as may appear liberal, considering my former rank, my present recognized position, and the expenses necessary for its proper and dignified maintenance.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) DULEEP SINGH

To the above letter, the following reply was received by His Highness at Rome, in March, 1857 :—

Chapter
XIII.
1857.

EAST INDIA HOUSE, *Feb. 19th, 1857.*

SIR,

. . . . I am commanded to state, in reply, that the Court have observed with great satisfaction the excellent disposition manifested by your Highness during your stay in England, and are prepared to relieve you from the restriction as to residence.

The Court will make a reference to the Government of India, to ascertain the present and prospective appropriation of the sum set apart by Treaty for your support and that of your family and dependants, and on the receipt of the answer from that Government, they will again address you on the subject of your pecuniary circumstances.

I have &c.,

(Signed) JAMES C. MELVILL.

On the Maharajah's return to England in May, 1857, finding that no reply had been received to the reference to India, he was much disappointed, and was again about to address the Chairman of the Honourable East India Company, regarding the delay which had taken place, when, late in June, 1857, the intelligence reached this country of the mutiny of the native troops at Meerut, and the occupation of Delhi by the mutineers.

Under these circumstances, he at once felt himself precluded, for a time, from requesting the attention of the Honourable Court to the subject, and refrained

Chapter even from asking to be released from guardianship,
 XIII. and entrusted with the management of his own affairs,
 1857. until intelligence was received of the recapture
 of Delhi, the relief of Lucknow, and the success
 of operations, in which his countrymen and former
 subjects had most loyally assisted, which released the
 British Government from all present anxiety as to the
 re-establishment of their rule.

In the year 1857, the Queen-Mother of Oude arrived in England, to plead her son's cause in person at the feet of his Suzerain.

Remembering the old friendship of former years, she was most anxious to obtain the assistance of Sir John and Lady Login—who were at that time down in Scotland—in laying her petition before Queen Victoria. As the rigorous seclusion in which, according to Mahomedan custom, the old Queen lived, made it seem necessary to obtain the services of some *lady* who could act as interpreter in the forthcoming audience with her Majesty, she earnestly requested that Lady Login, the only English lady of her acquaintance, might perform this office, and the idea was very warmly taken up by Mr. Vernon Smith (Lord Lyveden), then President of the Board of Control. The suggestion rather alarmed Lady Login, who dreaded the responsibility of acting as go-between in important matters of State; but she was not, after all, called on to perform this office, as Sir George Clerk,

one of the Directors, himself undertook the duty. The interview, one would think, could hardly have fulfilled the expectations of the poor Queen of Oude; for, though the principal personages could *see* each other, they were unable to converse; while the presence of an interpreter *behind a screen*, could scarcely have been a convenient arrangement.

The Queen of Oude remained in England, doing her utmost in her son's cause, until seized with fatal illness. In January, 1858, Sir John Login was summoned to consult on her case, by the following note from her son, the late Commander-in-Chief of the Oude army, who had accompanied his mother to England:—

14, WARWICK ROAD, MAIDA VALE, W.,
Jan. 18th, 1858.

H.R.H. General Sikunder Hushmut Bahadoor presents his best compliments to Sir John Login, and has the deepest regret in informing him that his royal mother, the Queen-Dowager, is dangerously ill. Under this distressing circumstance, H.R.H., considering how well-acquainted Sir John Login is with Indian manners, customs, and physical constitutions, would feel particularly obliged by Sir John's informing him when and where he could send his native physicians, for the purpose of consulting with Sir John, and having the advantage of his invaluable advice and suggestions.

Not long after this the Queen of Oude died at Paris, on her way back to India.



Chapter
XIII.
1857.

Duleep Singh continued to receive frequent invitations to Windsor and Osborne, and on two or three occasions the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred came down to Ashburton Court, accompanied either by Mr. Gibbs or Dr. Packer, to spend the afternoon with him ; when the chief amusements consisted in cricket and photography.

On the Prince of Wales's first visit, Login's eldest boy was unwell, and obliged to keep his room. Hearing this, the young Prince—even thus early giving tokens of that kindness of disposition which has rendered him so deservedly popular—insisted on leaving his game to go and cheer the invalid, by talking to him from below his window—an act of gracious thoughtfulness with which the boy* was infinitely delighted.

Readers of the Queen's "*Journal*" will remember the accident to the Princess Royal, which occurred about this time, caused by the sleeve of her muslin dress catching fire from the candle which she was using when sealing a letter ; and many were the rumours spread abroad of serious injury to her Royal Highness.

The following note from the Prince of Wales was written in answer to the Maharajah's inquiries on hearing of the accident :—

* Then an Eton schoolboy.



BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *July 16th*, 1856.Chapter
XIII.
1857.

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

I am very sorry to have neglected writing to you till to-day, but I have been so busy that I have not had a moment's time.

Princess Royal's arm is a great deal better now, and she thanks you very much for having inquired after it. She really has borne it very well. A minute more and it must have proved fatal.

I saw Sir John Login the other day, who gave me very good accounts of you. Will you remember me to him? We are going to spend two nights at the camp of Aldershot, and are then going on to the Isle of Wight.

I remain,

Yours affectionately,

ALBERT EDWARD.

When the Emperor Napoleon III. brought his lovely young Empress to England in 1857, the Maharajah was amongst those presented to their Majesties by Queen Victoria, and like all who came in contact with her, fell under the sway of the Empress Eugenie's beauty and charm of manner.

Lord Canning had several interviews with Duleep Singh and Sir John Login before he left for India to take up the Viceroyalty, and took great interest in the young Indian Prince, though, of course, he was not so fully acquainted with his character as the Marquis of Dalhousie. After Lord Canning's arrival in India, some suspicions arose that Duleep Singh was

Chapter in clandestine correspondence with his mother, the
XIII. Maharanee Chunda (Jinda), in Nepal, as will appear
1857. by the following letter from Sir John Kaye, then a
high official at the India House.

INDIA HOUSE, *Nov. 25th, 1856.*

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I think it very probable that you have not heard that the Government of India have sent us home copy of a letter addressed by the Maharajah to his mother, suggesting that she should come to England. The letter, written in English, was dated from Grindlay's Agency, to which it was suggested that reply should be sent. It fell into Jung Bahadoor's hands. Jung Bahadoor gave it to our Resident at Khatmandoo, who sent it to the Government of India, whence it has come home, with a minute of the Governor-General.

I need scarcely ask you whether you know anything about the matter—for the very fact of the Maharajah's writing through Grindlay's Agency shows that he wished to keep the matter from you. I write this confidentially (with the knowledge of the Chairman), so do not at present say anything to Duleep about the matter. When I have heard from you, I will let you know what it is thought should be done.

The letter was a somewhat harmless one, but the Nepal Government think that all letters to Chund Kowr should go through their hands.

I write in haste, but you shall hear from me again.

Ever yours, very sincerely,

J. WM. KAYE.

SIR J. S. LOGIN.

Sir John Login, however, was able to convince the

Government that the letter in question was an impudent forgery, and an attempt to extort money from the Ranee, on the part of some person in England.

Up to a period a little anterior to this, Duleep Singh had manifested not the faintest desire to communicate with his mother, or even to hear of her in any way, but a few months before the incident above alluded to, he showed signs of stirrings of conscience with regard to her, and an anxiety to put in practice the duty inculcated on him as a Christian, to "honour his mother," according to the Scriptural precept, and to manifest some care for her well-being in this world and the next.

As the Pundit Nehemiah Goreh was then about to return to India, to resume his missionary labours, the Maharajah entrusted him with a *personal* mission to the Maharanee at Khatmandoo, which forms the subject of the ensuing letters.

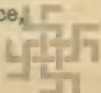
The Pundit not being aware of the affair of the forged letters, and being unable himself to proceed to Nepal before the unhealthy season, wrote to the Maharanee, through one, Manee Ram, a Udasee.

FLORENCE, Jan. 30th, 1857.

MY DEAR PUNDIT,

I am very sorry to find, from your letter to the Maharajah, that you have been unable to go up to Nepal to communicate *personally* with the Ranee; and that you have, in consequence, sent messages to her through some of her people.

DD



Chapter
XIII.
1857.

I had thought it the best way, to avoid any correspondence through doubtful channels, to ask you to speak to her personally, to tell her all you knew of the Maharajah, and to give us an account of her, and the people about her. I wished, also, to know if she was living in a respectable way, and to ascertain the best way in which the Maharajah could be of service to her. You may not have gathered my meaning clearly, and have naturally thought it sufficient to let her know, *through the Udasee*, of her son's goodwill towards her. The Maharajah does not know anything of this Udasee, or of the other people you mention, and does not wish to communicate through them. As he is unable to correspond with her in Goormookhee, it is useless to send on her letters. My last letter from London will have informed you of the letter which has been sent by some scoundrel, in the Maharajah's name, to induce the Ranee to apply for permission to visit England; and other letters, I have since ascertained, have been written, in the name of the Ranee (with or without her sanction), to Mr. John Bright, and perhaps to others in Parliament, to induce them to take up her case. I am, therefore, afraid that she will find difficulty in distinguishing between the Maharajah's genuine communications and the forgeries, unless you can speak to her personally, and explain. I have no doubt whatever that her desire to communicate with the Maharajah, through you, has been awakened of late, by the other letters sent her in the Maharajah's name, as, for several years, she has made no attempt to correspond with him, or even enquire about him. I am very anxious that you should impress upon her mind that the Maharajah is entirely opposed to her proposal to visit England, and that the safest course she can adopt is to remain quietly at Nepal for the present, living respectably, so as to afford her son good grounds for asking the Governor-General in Council to permit her to return to Hindostan, where she could be with relatives and friends.

But if she makes the least attempt to give trouble to the

Government, it will be quite impossible for the Maharajah to assist her in any way, however his natural feelings, as well as his Christian duty, may incline him to do so. I shall not be at all surprised if, on his return to India, he should himself ask the permission of Government to go up to Nepal to see her, and ascertain for himself in what way he can be most useful to her; and, from what I know of the sentiments of the authorities, I do not apprehend that they would make any objections to this.

Always, dear Nehemiah,

Yours very sincerely,

J. S. LOGIN.

From PUNDIT NEHEMIAH GOREH to SIR JOHN.

BENARES, *Feb. 26th*, 1857.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I thank you much for your letter. The money also came safe which you sent for my expenses to Nepal, but my going there has been put a stop to by Lord Canning, who writes Mr. Tucker, in answer to his request for permission to let me go, thus: "I beg you to tell the Pundit Nehemiah that he can write all he wishes to the Ranee, with the certainty that it will reach her safely, through the Resident, but that he cannot proceed to Nepal at present."

I am, therefore, writing her a letter. She has been anxiously looking for me, I believe. I shall tell her about the forged letters, and tell her to be very careful in trusting any person in such matters. I had heard that she was cheated of some thousands of rupees by some man in this very matter.

It seems she has a set of dishonest people about her, from whom she should be separated.

I remain, dear Sir John,

Your affectionate,

NEHEMIAH GOREH.

DD 2

Chapter
XIII.
1857.

The Maharajah's craze for photography continued unabated; and in this way, all visitors to Castle Menzies were induced to leave their "shadows" behind them; for the art of photography, being still a novelty, many felt a gratification in having their lineaments perpetuated by a *Prince*. He was more often successful with his gentleman sitters, and many were the likenesses he took of Harry Panmure Gordon, his neighbour at Killiechassie, whose fine figure in the Highland dress made a capital subject. Colonel —, a gentleman with a number of good-looking daughters, was very anxious to have them photographed by the Prince. The dismay of the proud father may be conceived, when, owing to some error of focus, the young ladies came out all with hands as big as their heads, and looking remarkably as if they had donned boxing-gloves for the occasion! He was not satisfied, until further attempts produced something rather more complimentary.

The news of the Mutiny came like a thunderbolt in the summer of 1857.

Great as was the turmoil aroused throughout the whole nation—of horror at the atrocities committed, and desperation at the consciousness of our impotence at that distance — this was as nothing compared to the emotions excited in the breasts of those to whom both the scenes and the victims of this great tragedy were perfectly familiar, who had themselves

but lately returned^y from those regions, and who, but for a merciful Providence, might themselves have been numbered among the slain!

Chapter
XIII.
1857.

It was not long before the intelligence reached Castle Menzies, that the Maharajah's residence at Futtehghur had been sacked and burnt by the mutineers, and his faithful servants murdered! As the Maharajah's visit to England was only expected to be for two years, he had left valuable property behind him, under guard, in his Toshkhana, in charge of his English steward, Sergeant A. Elliott (Bengal Sappers). This man had been selected for work in the Lahore Toshkhana, by Login, who, discovering his value, afterwards applied for him for the Maharajah's establishment. His letters at the outbreak of the Mutiny, gave such graphic descriptions of all that occurred, that Login, having forwarded one of them to Colonel Phipps* for perusal, was requested to continue to do so as they arrived. This he did, until their sudden cessation raised fears for the writer's own fate, which, alas! were to be only too speedily confirmed. Sergeant Elliott, his wife and children, and Mr. Walter Guise (the Maharajah's former tutor, whose house was hard by), were all murdered, along with other European residents at Futtehghur, shortly before the massacre of Cawnpore.

* Colonel the Hon. Charles Phipps — afterwards Sir C. Phipps — private secretary to the Prince Consort.

Chapter
XIII.
1857.

It may well be imagined with what breathless interest Login watched the struggle of that devoted band who defended the Residency at Lucknow, familiar as he was with every foot of ground rendered memorable by that conflict, and intimately acquainted with both European and native inhabitants of the city; while the chief and central figure, on whom the hopes and safety of that little garrison, humanly speaking, chiefly depended, was his own best and dearest friend! We need not speak here of the grief with which he received the sad intelligence that that brave and gentle spirit had been struck down at the post of duty, and carried in to die in the very house where, years before, the two friends had conjointly elaborated so many schemes for the welfare of the native races of India.

Letter from COLONEL PHIPPS.

BALMORAL, Sept. 27th, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I was very sorry to find, from a letter which I saw to-day, that Lord Clarendon had formed the opinion that the Maharajah was of an unfeeling and cruel disposition; upon what grounds his opinion has been formed I am at a loss to know, but my observation, certainly limited, would have led me to form, as far as cruelty is concerned, an exactly opposite judgment. I do not think that any Eastern ever shows much feeling, and perhaps they do not possess much, but I cannot believe that the Maharajah has any cruelty in his disposition. I can believe it perfectly

possible that, being still an Indian at heart, he may not like the terms of execration, too well justified, in which he hears Indians spoken of, and that he cannot join in the hopes of bloody retribution so generally entertained; but surely we must make allowance for this not unnatural feeling on his part.

Lord Clarendon, in a former letter, said, that in conversation with you at Taymouth Castle, he elicited from you that the Maharajah did not evince particular interest in the subject of the scenes that had occurred in Bengal during the outbreak, and was more taken up at present with his sport. May I venture to suggest a little caution in the expression of any opinion as to the feelings of the Maharajah on this subject, because a very slight expression from you may give rise to a very comprehensive, and probably exaggerated, opinion. Pray, my dear Sir John, forgive this hint, which is suggested by the most friendly motives.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

CASTLE MENZIES, *Sept. 30th, 1857.*

MY DEAR COLONEL PHIPPS,

It is indeed kind of you to put me on my guard as to the impression I may give of the Maharajah's character, in my conversation regarding him at this time. As you may have perceived from my note, conveying the Maharajah's reply to Her Majesty's most gracious and considerate message, I have been a little disappointed that he has shown so much indifference on the subject of the treacheries and cruelties perpetrated in India by the mutineers, and that he has scarcely admitted the propriety of abstaining from a few of the usual gaieties at this season, in consequence of the sad intelligence we have received of the fate of his own faithful servants, and of his tutor, Mr. Guise, and poor

Chapter Tom Scott's mother, sister, and brother, who had been his
XIII. guests at Roehampton only a few months before. I have
1857. endeavoured to find excuses for this want of sympathy, in the
natural tendency of young men, at his age and in his position,
to allow nothing to interfere with their sports and amusements.
When Lord Clarendon asked me what the Maharajah's thoughts
and views were, on the Mutiny, I could only say truthfully that
he did not show any *great* interest in it, his thoughts being at
present wholly occupied with shooting and field-sports. I am
sure nothing I said led him to form the opinion you mention, of
the Maharajah's disposition I think it probable it has arisen
from the Maharajah's own conversation with Lord Clarendon,
and the remarks he overheard him make to the ladies who were
guests at Taymouth Castle at the same time, and who have been
more than usually observant of any traits in his character which
they consider to be peculiarly Oriental.

He is, I am very thankful to say, extremely truthful and candid,
and I am certain that there is nothing in the character of
English Christians which he admires so much, and wishes so
much to copy, as straightforward honesty, and openness. He
certainly sometimes, when he see that any of the sentiments he
expresses cause surprise or wonder, exaggerates them a little for
amusement; but always with a tendency more to depreciate
than exalt himself in the estimation of those he converses with;
and although I have repeatedly pointed out this effect to him,
he has found people hitherto so ready to think well of him, and
has such a horror of hypocrisy, that he considers it better to err
on the safe side. Of all his amusements, hawking is his favourite
whenever he can enjoy it, and as the falcons have to be trained
by means, which to us appear cruel, he has often, in course
of conversation, to explain the process; and observing the effect
the description has upon most people, he no doubt amuses
himself a little dilating on the subject. Knowing the feeling
with which falcon training would be viewed among us, I induced

him to lay it aside for some time in India, and hoped the passionate love for the sport might moderate; but having now attained an age, at which restraint on his field-sports is not expedient, he has resumed it with all his former ardour.

This style of talk, combined with a certain expression about his mouth, which I heard a lady at Taymouth point out as very indicative of Oriental character, has doubtless led them to attach an idea of cruelty to his disposition; but were I to attempt to say anything on the subject to him, I am afraid that his anxiety to avoid anything approaching to dissimulation would only increase the difficulty.

Even his indifference to what is occurring in India, his apparent want of sympathy with the sufferings of our countrymen and women, arise in a great measure from a wish not to deceive, or to be better thought of than he is in reality. Of all the Christian virtues, truthfulness is the one to which he attaches most importance, though I am happy to think there are others besides which exert no little influence over his natural disposition.

The Maharajah has certainly no sympathy with the mutinous Sepoys, nor any other wish than that we should effectually put them down. He does not look on them as his countrymen, nor refrain from expressing abhorrence of their conduct whenever it is mentioned; but although he even goes so far as to suggest and invent modes of punishment for them, perhaps as effectual as ridiculous, his feelings in our favour are not so strong as to overcome his natural indolence, or to tempt him to read or make many inquiries on the subject of the revolt. With the conduct of the Sikhs and Punjabis in assisting us, he is very much gratified, while, at the same time, he is not without misgivings as to their continuing faithful throughout, and expresses doubts of the propriety of bringing them to Delhi, where they will see a handful of English, opposed to a multitude who speak nearly the same language, and differ little in religion from themselves.

In spite of all Duleep Singh's faults and deficiencies, I have still

Chapter much to be thankful for in his character, although I have
 XIII. reluctantly been obliged to forego the hope, I at one time indulged,
 1857. that he would take an active and foremost part in enlightening the
 people of India.

Yours very truly,

J. S. LOGIN.

Shortly after the tidings of the Indian Mutiny reached this country, and while all trembled with anxiety as to what news next mail might bring, Lady Login was one morning told that two men on horseback had arrived at the Castle, from Kinloch, and one of them craved a private interview on matters of importance. Coming, as they did, from the home of her childhood, she sent for the man at once, and, on his entrance, recognized one of her brother, General Charles Campbell's, tenants, Donald MacCulloch, an old acquaintance, who, shutting the door cautiously, and speaking in a whisper, said, "We just thocht we wad come o'er the hill, to see if ye were a' richt, for there's no trustin' thae black men noo!"

Seeing she looked puzzled, he asked in a hoarse whisper, pointing with his thumb over his shoulder, "Is HE keeping quate? If there's ony fear o' his breakin' oot, there's a wheen o' us ready to come o'er the hill and saddle him for ye, gin ye gie the word!" To his great relief he was told that the "black Prince" had only two native servants, and that both he and

they were very peaceably disposed—would he like to see the Prince? he had been in that room only a few minutes ago.

Chapter
XIII.
1857.

The poor man absolutely jumped! "What! is he loose? I never saw but ae black man in my life, and that was yer uncle, Sir Patrick's, naygro, carrying his bag on the moors. I was but a laddie then, but I still shake when I mind o' the Admiral cryin' on me, 'Donald, here's *auld Clottie* wi' his bag come for ye!'"

The *brave* Donald was reassured when he saw that the Prince was not black, like his negro acquaintance, and he went off home quite happy, *on foot*, having made a capital bargain, and got a good price for his sturdy little black mare, to which the Maharajah had taken a fancy as a shooting-pony.

The idea of the Strathbraan men being on the watch for symptoms of a "rising" on his part, was greatly enjoyed by Duleep Singh!

This year of the Mutiny brought an immense amount of work and correspondence on Sir John Login. Having so lately returned from the scene of operations, and being in constant communication with many of the leading actors in the suppression of the revolt, he was appealed to on all sides for information on the matters then absorbing public attention.

Here is a letter received at this time from Mr. Bright, who had been staying at Castle Menzies a few days previously:—

ROCHDALE, *Sept. 1st, 1857.*Chapter
XIII.
1857.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I ought to have written you sooner, to tell you what took place after I left you so suddenly at Castle Menzies, but you will have seen it in the newspapers. The Birmingham people have treated me most handsomely, and I only hope I may be able to repay them. I am keeping quiet till February, but I am not very sanguine that I shall even then be able to venture into the House of Commons, for the "strength" of my head recovers but slowly, and, after such a shock as I have suffered from, restoration is always slow, without being always sure. . . .

The India chaos is a truly melancholy business; and the death of Lawrence will have come upon *you* as a calamity. The more I consider the whole question, the more its magnitude and its difficulty oppresses me. The cruelties perpetrated by the Sepoys, and the scarcely less horrid cruelties inflicted by our countrymen, under the name of punishment and vengeance, will leave a desperate wound, which time can never heal. The restoration of order, therefore, will be not a small part of the difficulty—the future government of India is the great problem, and I know not how this is to be solved. The loss of India would not ruin England, but the effort, and the cost of keeping it, may do so; and the crimes we have committed there must be atoned for, in some shape, by ourselves or our children.

Pray remember me most kindly to Lady Login, and say to the Maharajah that I was very sorry not to see his hawks fly, and to leave him so abruptly, if not, indeed, so rudely.

Believe me always,

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

SIR JOHN LOGIN,

Castle Menzies.



In answering this letter, Login took occasion to disabuse Mr. Bright of some misconceptions of the native character he appeared to have formed, and of the effect produced upon it by the high-handed proceedings of some of the first representatives of English rule among them. He was very anxious to secure, as an advocate for the future interests of India, a man of such sterling integrity, and extraordinary power of influencing the masses of his countrymen; and of whose character, as personifying honesty and uprightness, he was a sincere admirer.

Lord Canning's anxiety to prevent bloody retribution, and to discourage the indiscriminate thirst for vengeance, found an echo in the minds of a large body of noble-minded statesmen and philanthropists at home, who dreaded lest this un-English lust for blood might grow to such a pitch as would baffle the restraints of discipline and humanity, and lead to excesses, such as the nation would have cause to deplore in its cooler moments. The fearful descriptions of the mutilations and outrage to which English ladies and children had been subjected were repeated and exaggerated to such an extent, that men's minds were strung up to an intensity of hatred to the native races of India, which forbade their listening to reason!

A committee of gentlemen was therefore formed, of which Login was one, to institute an inquiry into

* Login's reply to John Bright's letter will be found in the Appendix.



Chapter XIII. 1857. those cases of mutilation brought forward by the newspapers, to which special features of atrocity were attached, and Login offered himself to go down to the ports of arrival, and board all steamers and sailing vessels with passengers from India,—especially those named in these journals as conveying victims of the ferocity of the Sepoys. Though at first himself a believer in the possible truth of these assertions, he had the satisfaction of establishing the fact, after interviewing both officers and passengers on board these vessels, that at least among those who had returned to their native country, no single case of such mutilation was to be found. His own impression of the matter was, that in cases of mutilation it was most improbable that the victims would be suffered to survive.

This evidence was of great assistance in strengthening the hands of Lord Canning, whose “clemency” to the rebels had raised a storm against him, both in India and in this country.

It must be remembered that, at this time, excepting Login, very few (if any) officers of the East India Company had been brought much in contact with the Court. Login’s personal intimacy, therefore, with the Hon. Charles Phipps, then private secretary to Her Majesty the Queen, as well as to H.R.H. the Prince Consort, made him the medium of communicating the views and counsels of Indian officers on the crisis.

Having forwarded to Colonel Phipps, soon after the

earliest accounts of the Mutiny reached England, some private letters received by the last mail from India, Colonel Phipps wrote to him as follows :—

OSBORNE, *July 24th*, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I was exceedingly obliged to you for your letter and its enclosures.

In the present awful crisis of the affairs of India, any opinion or views, propounded by one so well acquainted with the country as yourself, must be most valuable, and you could not do me a greater favour than to continue your communications.

I think that we had no right to be much surprised at what has occurred. Everybody who has had boldness or sincerity enough to face the question, has long since known, and many have declared, the utterly rotten and unreliable state of the Bengal native army, nor have frequent occasions been wanting, on which the Sepoys of this Presidency have sufficiently shown their mutinous and exacting spirit. Upon such emergencies as the present, however, the least profitable and least satisfactory process is a retrospect of the past. It will require all the wisdom and all the energy of the Government (I hope they may have enough), to provide for the future. I should think that no Government, either national or under charter, would be so mad as to entrust again the safety of an important part of the Indian Empire to high-caste native troops, and yet I can conceive that much difficulty may arise from the sole employment of white soldiers, entirely unacquainted with the language and customs of the people. From the amount of the force heretofore maintained, I should suppose that the Company's troops must be employed upon many duties other than the mere military repression of disturbance.



Chapter XIII. 1857. With regard to the other question of gradual conversion, I have always understood, though I profess to be very ignorant upon Indian subjects, that it is one of very great difficulty.

The difficult epoch appears to me to be that in which you have not made progress enough to reap any of the fruits that may be hoped to result from the knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity and yet have done enough to alarm the prejudices and fanaticism of those whose existence almost depends upon the adherence to their rules of caste. I have very little faith in any number of adult converts—a few isolated cases there must be; but in general, a sincere believer in any religion will not be a sincere proselyte, and it is the weak and the worthless who, in general, first embrace a new faith—worthless in themselves, and by their characters throwing discredit upon conversion. But this must always be a stage to pass through. In the present case, you have so long preached up non-interference with religious prejudices as the doctrine of your Indian rule, that you give a plausible excuse for discontent when you depart from the principles proclaimed by yourselves.

I look with the most painful anxiety for the next mail. How much may depend upon the news which that brings! but I fear, from what I hear, that our army was very deficient in all the materials for striking a decisive blow, and its efficiency very much cramped by the limited power and authority which has been accorded to the generals commanding.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

In response to this, Login, on the 28th July, 1857, addressed a long letter, or rather memorandum, to Colonel Phipps, which led ultimately to a voluminous correspondence on Indian affairs in general, too long to

receive here more than a passing allusion. That these papers—written thus early, before it was known outside the Cabinet, that the Queen's Government had determined on taking into their own hands the future destinies of India—were not without their influence on the measures then under consideration, for the reorganization of the Indian Government, and of its army, will perhaps appear on a perusal of a short summary of their contents, which will be found at the end of this volume.*

While engaged in this correspondence with Sir Charles Phipps, Login wrote to Sir James C. Melvill, Secretary to the Court of Directors, explaining to him (for the information of the Board) the circumstances under which the correspondence had arisen, and forwarding copies of all his letters as they were despatched, ending by saying:—

“As I think it not unlikely that these opinions are made known in a high quarter, although I cannot presume to think they are likely to have much weight, I consider it my duty, situated as I am, to let you know what I have done. I hope that you will, whether you approve of my opinions or not, be assured of my desire to do nothing which I cannot freely communicate to you. . . . I have also had frequent conversations with Mr. Bright on the subject of India, whilst he was here on a visit, and have done my best to modify his views. . . . From all the opportunities

* See Appendix. *Correspondence between Sir C. Phipps and Sir J. Login.*

Chapter of observation which I have lately enjoyed, I am satisfied that
 XIII. the transfer of the Indian Government to the Crown has been
 1857. *determined upon*, and that the *how* and the *when* have only to be
 considered. I have, therefore, thought it my duty to meet Colonel
 Phipps's wishes, by giving such information as I am able to do, on
 various points connected with the transfer. . . . I have no
 doubt that I may be considered very presumptuous in all this ; but
 the opportunities afforded me, of expressing my opinion, have not
 been of my seeking, and I think I do right to avail myself of
 them."

It is gratifying to note, from the following quotation from the "*Life of Prince Consort*," that the Queen herself attached value to Sir John Login's opinions on Indian affairs. Writing to Lord Derby (then Prime Minister) in reference to Lord Ellenborough's secret despatch to Lord Canning, April, 1858, and of his second despatch, May 5th, Her Majesty says :—

"The despatch now before me, for the first time, is very good and just in principle, but the Queen would be much surprised if it did not entirely coincide with the views of Lord Canning, at least, as far as he has hitherto expressed any in his letters. So are also the sentiments written by Sir John Lawrence (in a private letter which Lord Derby had sent for her Majesty's perusal), in almost the very expressions frequently used by Lord Canning. Sir John Login, who holds the same opinion, and has great experience, does not find any fault with the Proclamation, however seemingly it

may sound at variance with those opinions; and he rests this opinion on the peculiar position of affairs in Oude."*

Chapter
XIII.
1857.

The following is the last letter Login received from Lord Dalhousie, who was on the point of going abroad in search of health :—

EDINBURGH, Oct. 3rd, 1857.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

We are just on the wing for London, on our way to Malta, for which we sail on the 20th inst. I have never had any communication from the Court regarding the Maharajah, and hope that the sentiments which were placed on record will lead to a satisfactory settlement of his affairs.

The tidings from India are too distressing to write about, though they occupy my thoughts by day and by night.

Believe me, my dear Login,

Ever yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

SIR J. S. LOGIN,
Castle Menzies.

Letter from SIR JOHN LOGIN to the EDITOR of the "TIMES."

CASTLE MENZIES, Nov. 25th, 1857.

MY DEAR DELANE,

I have been lately asked by the Rev. H. Venn, secretary to the Church Missionary Society, to give him my views with

* "Life of Prince Consort," vol. iv., p. 225.

Chapter respect to Christian education in India, and the extension of our
XIII. missions. I sent him a paper, of which I enclose you a copy,
1857. and I have also written to Lord Shaftesbury, at his request, on
the same subject.

The article on the use of the Roman character in Oriental languages, has attracted much attention. I lately saw the editor of the Mirzapoor paper (Rev. Cotton Mather), who is now engaged in an edition of the whole Scriptures in Urdu for the Bible Society, and will, I hope, soon be able to assist Sir Charles Trevelyan and others in bringing out an edition of the New Testament, English and Romanized Urdu in parallel columns, for the use of persons going out to India. It is also proposed to get up a Romanized edition of Shakespeare's or other standard dictionary.

I have been much gratified by your articles on Indian finances, and the means of getting the mercantile classes to contribute in fair proportion to the revenues of the State. If we keep to our law of inheritance, as now established, permitting, of course, Hindoos to adopt by will as they please, provided they pay a succession duty, we shall get a pretty good sum out of them. The proposal to sell freehold rights in the land (which I have also often thought of), although excellent in principle, should not, I think, be brought into operation at present—not until confidence in our Government has been most effectually restored, and the possibility of raising taxes from other sources than the land satisfactorily ascertained.

I have had a letter from Charles Havelock, the General's brother. Since I told him of your kindness, he has found that the regulations of the Horse Guards, in respect to officers who had left the service by sale of commission, precluded his return to it at his age; but he had applied for an appointment under the East India Company. I have sent on his letter to Sir George Pollock, who is also interested in him, and have written to Sir James Melvill, suggesting that he might be most useful in

drilling the Light Cavalry recruits, and mentioning that you had, through Mr. Ellice, interested Lord Panmure in his case, and that they would carry the goodwill of all with them, for his brother's sake. I am glad to hear that Wilson and Havelock are both to be made baronets, but they must have pensions also, for neither of them are able to keep up the dignity without such assistance. I know Havelock well, and Wilson also. I served under him throughout the Punjab campaign. I do not know what is to be given to John Lawrence: he deserves a peerage, but his sister told me lately that he had only saved £20,000, so that he could not afford to take one without a pension attached. When I go up to London next week, I will show you the replies I have sent to some influential friends, who asked me to state my opinions on various Indian matters. . . .

Chapter
XIII.
1857.

I fear I have written you a very long letter.

Yours very sincerely,

J. S. LOGIN.

About this time (August, 1857) Sir John wrote to Sir James Melvill to ask if any reply had yet been received from India relative to the Maharajah's affairs. He suggested that as, owing to the Mutiny, the Maharajah's return to India had been put a stop to, and he remained in England more from necessity than choice, if the Court of Directors desired to induce him to settle contentedly in this country, it would be advisable to provide him with an estate. If left to himself to decide, whether to purchase property or not,

Chapter his mind was so unsettled, that it would be long before
XIII. he could make it up; but if the matter were decided.
1857. for him, he would readily acquiesce in the arrangement,
and very contentedly make this country his home, for
several years to come.



CHAPTER XIV.

GUARDIANSHIP ENDED.

THE marriage of the Princess Royal, in January, 1858, Chapter XIV. 1858-63.
was the last Court ceremonial in which Sir John Login took part as governor and guardian of Duleep Singh, who was henceforth to be permitted to manage his own affairs.

The Maharajah celebrated his emancipation from guardianship by organizing a shooting expedition to Sardinia, with Dr. Parsons and a friend. Before starting for the land of banditti he made due preparations for the worst making his will, and leaving a power of attorney with Sir John Login, to act for him in the settlement of his affairs.

When the lease of Castle Menzies expired, the shootings of Auchlyne, on Loch Tay, were rented from Lord Breadalbane, which place became Duleep Singh's headquarters on his return from Sardinia, pending the conclusion of the arrangement for a lease of Mulgrave Castle, which Sir John was making with Lord Normanby.

The following letter was written by Lord Hatherton,

Chapter whilst the Maharajah was on a visit to him at
 XIV. Teddesley :—
 1858-63.

TEDDESLEY, *Dec. 11th, 1857.*

MY DEAR LOGIN,

. . . . I have been talking with the Maharajah about the expediency of his having some house in or near London, but he seems unwilling, until he has made up his mind whether he shall revisit India in the cold season of next year. He talks of "being entitled to consider his own pleasure and comfort," and was so decided that I thought it best to say no more. He showed me a draft of the will he intends to execute before going abroad. He evidently wishes to do what is kind, liberal, and right in the disposal of his property, and I was pleased to hear his expressions of gratitude to you. His words to me, on my proposing to him to alter the plan of his will, and leave £10,000 at once to the Church Missionary Society, and make *you* his residuary legatee, were "You do not know him as well as I do, if you think this would please him. Oh, no! He wished me to leave it to the Church Missionary Society, and I have fully resolved to do so. All my interests and duties are in India, but Sir John and Lady Login have the strongest claim upon me. He has abandoned a career that might have been most profitable, for my sake. I shall leave him not less than £10,000, and, if I live to come of age, I shall settle £1,000 per annum on him, to be followed by the legacy. I feel the importance of not delaying the execution of my will, and intend to do it at once."

I thought it might please you to know how he feels to you both. He says he is to consult his friend, Mr. Cuninghame, about being executor to his will, when he passes through Edinburgh.

Very truly yours,

HATHERTON.

SIR JOHN S. LOGIN.

Login wrote to congratulate Sir Charles Phipps on the honours just conferred on him, to which Sir Charles replied :—

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, Jan. 26th, 1858.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Many, many thanks for your kind letter of congratulation. I claim no merit but that of doing what is given me to do, with a wish to do it honestly, and to the best of my ability. I need hardly say that the honour given me was one that I should never have sought or expected, and that I felt doubly the insignificance of my services from the company I found myself in in the *Gazette*.* But this is not my fault. The Queen cannot be *exclusively* served on the Ganges!

I assure you, my dear Login, that I consider one of the privileges of my position to have been, to have formed first the acquaintance, and then, I hope, gained the friendship, of one for whom I have a very sincere respect, and true regard.

Ever sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

The Maharajah was, at this time, bent on enjoying life as a private gentleman, free from all the trammels of princely rank, and for this reason appointed no equerry or aide-de-camp.

* Havelock and Wilson.



BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *Feb. 9th*, 1858.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

The Queen and Prince would hope to see the Maharajah before he goes abroad. Would Sunday next be too late a day to name for that purpose? The Queen desires me to say, that she hopes that the Maharajah will not think of going abroad without somebody as a sort of A.D.C. and companion. Her Majesty thinks that to go quite alone would hardly be compatible with his rank and station. Your name will be restored to the ceremonial list (those present at the royal marriage), from which it had been accidentally omitted.

Yours very sincerely,

C. B. PHIPPS.

A few letters from Duleep Singh, written while trying his wings on his first flight, show his boyish character yet unspoilt.

DOVER, *March 3rd*, 1858.

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

Here we are stuck at Dover, and can't cross, as the sea is very rough; but if it is calmer to-morrow we shall cross, otherwise, we must delay till Thursday. We had a very pleasant journey; my companions made themselves very agreeable. Dr. Parsons, I think, is a very nice man, he seems to know something about everything, and enters into all my amusements. I fear I shall not enjoy this trip as I had hoped, as they try to please me too much, and I fear very much that if I do not take care I shall be spoilt for ever afterwards. They act towards me as I daresay Sir John remembers, a Dr.

Drummond used to do to the Duke of Athole. He used to call him "His Grace" at every word, and if the Duke happened to drop anything, he used to rush forward to pick it up, and also flattered him a great deal. It is not good to have people near me in this position, for I am very much afraid that I shall get quite vain; but perhaps when we get to know each other better, it will not be the case. My kind regards to Sir John and the children.

Believe me always, my dear Lady Login,

Affectionately yours,

DULEEP SINGH.

CAGLIARI, SARDINIA, *March 29th, 1858.*

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

I received your letter this morning, which gave me great pleasure, for besides telling me that you are all well, you gave me all that news about Mulgrave Castle. I think it would be a very good bargain, if the shootings are what you describe them. If the moors are of the size of one-fourth of the whole property, I should like you to secure it, but if not, never mind. This is a very nice place for shooting, but I wish I had come in December, as now there is hardly any game to be found. Thank Lady Login for her kind letter; tell her I did her commissions at Genoa, and Presanzini is to send the parcel by a courier friend of his. I am very glad to hear that Alick Lawrence has got a Baronetcy and £1,000 a-year. Many thanks for the trouble you are taking about my settlement with the East India Company. It must delight Sir George Pollock to be made a Director; give him my congratulations, please. It is such a bother to have lost two of my best hawks, first time they were flown! We get Indian mail sooner here than in London; the last news seems better, I hope for peace soon. This way of travelling is

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

Chapter very much more expensive than I expected. My love to the
 XIV. children.
 1858-63.

Your affectionately,
 DULEEP SINGH.

DOMO D'OSSOLA, SIMPLON, *May 3rd, 1858.*

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

I was so glad to get your letter. We returned to Genoa on the 30th ult., having had little shooting in Sardinia. I have come to the conclusion that there is no place in the world after all for sport, like England, however, I have enjoyed my trip very much. I think if you were to visit Sardinia you would think it very like India, I almost fancied myself back there when looking at the scenery.

When I was at Muro, I was persuaded to give a ball "to the nobility and gentry"; they came in their national costumes. One young lady was very beautiful, all our party were smitten, even Dr. Parsons; I did not, however, fall in love with her as I did with — at Rome! Have you no commission for me to do? We hope to be home on 17th, when I trust to see you. I am going to send for Signor Brochi from Rome, to continue my study of Italian. I have found out my deficiencies, and am determined to learn it well before I go abroad again. Do you remember what fun we used to have with him? I have just written a long letter to the Prince of Wales, so will now stop. With love to all,

Yours affectionately,
 DULEEP SINGH.

AUCHLYNE, *July 6th, 1858.*

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

I am so very glad to hear that the Queen has asked you, and you have agreed, to take charge of the young Coorg Princess.

I am quite sure you will make her very happy, and treat her with that motherly kindness which I myself have had the good luck to experience. Yes, I left the brougham to be sold, and I hear you have inquired the price; it has *none* if it is for *your own* personal use, but if it is for the use of the Princess, I think she can afford to pay me £40, which is one-third of its cost! Tell me when to expect Edward; he will enjoy fishing. Love to all.

Your affectionate

DULEEP SINGH.

Mrs. Drummond, having resigned the charge of the young Princess of Coorg, god-daughter of the Queen, Her Majesty made it a special request that Lady Login should take charge of her, and, after taking her abroad for the winter, bring her out in society next season. Feeling that whatever inconvenience this arrangement might cause to herself, the Queen's wishes must be complied with, she agreed, trusting that another suitable chaperon might be found later on. In consequence, the house in Portman Square was given up, and the family removed to Kew, where one of the Queen's houses was prepared and furnished for them.

After Christmas, Sir John and Lady Login took the Princess and their two elder children to Rome.

This same winter, the Prince of Wales was there, with his Governor, General Bruce, and honoured Sir John and Lady Login with a visit at their apartments, No. 56, Capo le Casa. During the Carnival, he also came to their balcony in the Corso, with a bouquet for

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

Chapter the Princess Gouramma, and, after watching the
XIV. procession for some time, passed on to the balcony
1858-63. of the neighbouring house, which was occupied by the
Prussian royal family.

Though Login had regularly forwarded to the India House copies of all his letters and memoranda to Sir C. Phipps, during the correspondence already alluded to, the Board never so much as acknowledged the receipt of any of these communications. It would seem as if they resented the fact of an officer in their service being consulted on Indian affairs, or giving any opinion as to the direction reform should take ; although they were perfectly aware that Login had only given expression to his views by particular request, after positive assurance that " the rule of the Company was doomed," and that it only remained to be decided by what form of government it should be succeeded.

The treatment which they meted out to a hitherto trusted servant would almost justify the idea that the moribund Company of Directors were not above showing their displeasure in a somewhat undignified and ungenerous manner.

It was not until the 29th December, 1857, that the Court of Directors acceded to the request of the Maharajah, that he might be permitted to assume the management of his own affairs ; at that date he had exceeded by three years, the age at which Hindoo princes attain their legal majority, and by more than a

year that at which European sovereigns are considered competent to assume the reins of government. The Court nevertheless informed him that though they granted his request, "purposing, so far as their authority extended, to show the esteem they entertained for the sense and good conduct which had marked all his proceedings in this country," yet, according to the laws of England, he was still a minor, and legally incompetent to undertake certain responsibilities; * while, as a minor, he was incompetent to execute a legal instrument appointing another person to act for him.†

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

Having decided that the guardianship was at an end, the Court immediately informed Sir John Login that his official salary must now cease; and it was only on his pointing out that his original appointment had been that of Superintendent and *Agent to the Governor-General* (personally attached to His Highness), and that the latter function did not necessarily cease on the Maharajah's attaining his majority,‡ that

* A side of the question with which they were not concerned, as they were bound to deal with him only by the laws of India.

† This palpably refers to the power of attorney, which the Maharajah had executed in favour of Sir John Login.

‡ As agent to the Government with His Highness, it may still be my duty to draw his monthly stipend and sign the bill for it, and it may be in his power to communicate through me, if he should so wish it, instead of through the Honourable Court, with the local authorities in India, for the recovery of his property, plundered by the mutineers at Futtehghur, and in other ways to assist him officially, if he requires it, as I think he may.—*Letter from Sir J. Login to Secretary of the H.E.I.C., Feb. 15th, 1858.*

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

the Court allowed him a further period of three months for the audit of his accounts, on an allowance of 600 rupees per mensem, that being the moiety of his salary hitherto paid by the Company ; but when Lord Stanley, the present Earl of Derby, who was the first Secretary of State for India, came into office, he, "fully appreciating the very conscientious and efficient manner in which he had discharged his duties," directed in a letter dated December 1st, 1858, that Sir John's full salary should be paid to him, up to the date on which his functions ceased.

In announcing that the Maharajah was henceforth to be considered of age, Sir James Melvill then wrote to Sir John Login :—

The Court, however, cannot allow the connection which has existed for so many years between you and the Maharajah to cease, without expressing their entire approbation of the manner in which you have performed the duties of your important office, as evinced by the good results of the careful training for which the young Prince is indebted to you.

On the 27th February, Sir John wrote to inform the Court, that he had transferred all balances at the bankers, and other securities, to the personal credit of His Highness, and made over all valuables to the charge of Mr. Cawood, the steward appointed by the Maharajah and empowered to give receipts. In this letter he also informs the Court that, "Knowing it

had been out of his power to save much from his allowances, or make sufficient provision for his family, during the nine years of his guardianship, the Maharajah had spontaneously proposed to settle an annuity on him, and make further provision for him in his will, in the event of his surviving him." In requesting that this desire of His Highness might be favourably considered, Login reminded the Directors, that owing to his having undertaken the charge of the young Prince, he had forfeited his chances of rising, either in the medical service, in which he had as fair a prospect as any medical officer in India, or in the civil and political service, where a career was well known to lie open to him; while, on the other hand, from the peculiarity of his position he had been unavoidably led, not only personally, but in his family, into greater expenses than he would have been in any ordinary appointments of the service. He also mentioned that the Maharajah, before embarking, had left with him a power of attorney to arrange the settlement of his pension, the recovery of his property in India, and other matters requiring reference to the Court of Directors, and concluded by remarking, "it has been a source of much gratification and thankfulness to me, that I have been able, under God's blessing, to establish and confirm a feeling of goodwill, loyalty, and respect towards the British Government, *on the part of one from whom such sentiments could scarcely have been expected.*"

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

The following letter was also written at this time to the Secretary of the East India Company :—

SIR,

On the severance of the connection which has for so many years existed between Sir John Login and myself, I am anxious to testify my appreciation of his character, and my sense of his constant and kind attention to my interests and comfort. I have, therefore, to request the Honourable Court of Directors that, on the termination of Sir John's official engagement in the management of my affairs, the sum of Rs.833. 5. 4. per mensem, may be paid in India to his order, or as he shall direct, and be deducted from the total allowance I receive from the East India Company. May I, therefore, beg of your doing what is necessary, for carrying out these my wishes into effect.

I have, &c.,

DULEEP SINGH.

LONDON, *Feb. 26th*, 1858.

The answer of the Court was conveyed to Sir J. Login in the following terms :—

March 10th, 1858.

. . . . In reply to this communication, I am commanded by the Court to state that the letter of the Maharajah makes no mention of any testamentary bequest, and, with reference to the proposed annuity, that the receipt of any present or gratuity from a native of India by any officer of the Company, is prohibited, not only, as you must be aware, by the rules of the service, but by an

Act of Parliament. The arrangement, therefore, cannot receive either the approval, or the sanction of the Court of Directors.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

I have, &c.

J. D. DICKENSON,
Secretary.

To this, Sir J. Login replied, that he regretted he had not before informed the Court that, in the event of their acceding to the above request, he intended to retire from the service, but had thought it best to defer the announcement until all his accounts had been audited. And having, for the last eight years and upwards, been directed to draw one-half of his salary from His Highness, and, for the previous seven years, an equal amount from His Majesty the King of Oude, besides receiving special permission, on several occasions, to accept presents from the latter, it had not occurred to him that it was not within the power of the Court, *in like manner*, to sanction the acceptance of the Maharajah's offer, under the very peculiar circumstances of the case.

With respect to the absence of any mention, in His Highness's letter, of any testamentary bequest, as His Highness merely intended to ask the favour of the Honourable Court to carry out his wishes for the payment of an annuity, by deduction from his pay, it was not considered necessary by His Highness to make any allusion to it; and he (Login) only mentioned

Chapter it, from a wish that everything should be known re-
 XIV. garding his relations to His Highness.
 1858-63.

From SECRETARY TO BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

April 3rd, 1858.

. . . . You state that it had been your intention to apply for permission to retire from the service, upon accepting the annuity offered to you by the Maharajah Duleep Singh. . . . In reply, the Court desire me to state that the remarks, in their letter of 10th March, applied to the supposed case of an officer of the Company's service receiving sums of money from one of the princes of India; the rules of the service, and the Act of Parliament, referred to in that letter, being applicable to such case.

Sir John then placed his resignation in the hands of the East India Company, after a service of twenty-six years; and having again requested, on the Maharajah's part, that the proposed arrangement might now be carried out, was answered in these words (under date, April 21st, 1858):—" . . . I am instructed by the Court to inform you that, in their opinion, the matter is not one in which they can, with propriety, interfere."

On resigning the service, Login addressed a short memorandum to the Court of Directors, in which he says :—

The favour I solicited from Government, and which the Maharajah requested on my behalf, was merely that they would

permit the annuity which His Highness wished to settle upon me, to be deducted from his pay *in the same manner as other deductions had been previously made, at his request*, in order that the circumstances under which it had been granted to me should be known officially, and that I should stand in a somewhat more satisfactory relation to the Court, than those officers who, having resigned the Honourable Company's service, had entered into engagements with native princes of India, not of the most creditable kind. I had hoped that the manner in which I had performed my duty, while guardian to His Highness, would have been sufficient to justify the Honourable Court in departing, under very peculiar circumstances, from their ordinary practice in this slight degree. . . . It may cause some surprise that, during the time I have held my present appointment, I have been able to add only £1,500 to my small savings, partly owing to the fact, that, with a view to give me a more independent position in the management of His Highness's affairs, I credited to his account an allowance of £200 per annum, while *alone* with him in India, and £500 when in England, as my share of table-expenses.*. . . The Honourable Court, however, have seen fit to refuse the application with the *private* explanation, through one of their members, that I should "consider myself fortunate in having passed through the service so pleasantly as I have done!" . . . It is not likely, so far as the Honourable Court's treatment in my case is concerned, that my experience can afford encouragement to any other medical officer, to regard so little his private interests in the exercise of his public duty, as I have done.

Chapter
 XIV.
 1858-63

In March, 1858, Login was appealed to by Sir Charles Trevelyan, then at the Treasury, to assist him

* Besides this, Login paid the wages, &c., of all his own servants, and all educational and travelling expenses for his family.

Chapter in carrying out John Lawrence's wishes, with regard
 XIV. to procuring a permanent endowment for the Lawrence
 1858-63. Asylums.

"The matter is somewhat complicated," says Sir Charles, "by the relation which the Special Lawrence Fund and the General Relief Fund, bear to each other. The proper course, I think, will be to throw all the strength we can at first into the Lawrence Fund, and to supplement whatever may be deficient, out of the balance of Relief Fund. . . . Don't consult any one else *until we can have a conference together to decide our plans*. Perhaps you will go with me, to introduce me to Lady Lawrence to-morrow, or next day."

A few months later, August 13th, came a private intimation from Sir John W. Kaye, to the following effect :—

A move is to be made in the Court of Proprietors against the grant to Sir John Lawrence. . . . His offence being that he made a public manifestation of his respect for Christianity, and his desire to do justice to native Christians. . . . We ought to muster not only the friends of the Lawrences, but the friends of Christianity. . . . Let me hear from or see you as soon as possible, that we may arrange to meet this properly.*

Mrs. Bernard, a sister of the Lawrences, wrote

*Their exertions were successful. See Trotter, vol. ii., p. 105.

Login, February 10th, 1858, of the disappointment felt by the family, that nothing had been done, or even spoken of, up to this date, to honour the memory of their dear brother Henry, by Queen or country. She observed, that the orphan children of one who gave his life for his country, besides having lived for her benefit, and who were but poorly provided for, were surely entitled to the same distinction as had been already conferred on the family of Sir Henry Havelock.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63

Could you, without pain to yourself, dear Sir John, bring this subject before any of the high personages in the realm? I daresay you will have remarked how John has been passed over, but he is still alive to take care of his own good name. I do not know Lord Stanley personally, or anybody who has any communication with the Court but yourself, or I would write to them; but I would much rather leave it in your hands, knowing how dear his memory is to you, and how much he loved you while alive.

Five days later, Dr. and Mrs. Bernard wrote :—

Your letter has given us great pleasure. We all feel most grateful to you for your most kind and successful exertions in expediting Alick's baronetcy, &c. We enclose a letter to Mr. Vernon Smith, to be given if you approve. The recognition of our dear Henry's merits will be most gratifying to his family, and the annuity to his children most acceptable. We are quite sure it will be an additional pleasure to dear Alick to hear how to the last, as at the first, you have been concerned in this matter. . . .

Chapter XIV. We know how grateful Richard* also will be to you. Did you know that this is the eldest of five boys? and Richard is only a regimental Captain, so you may imagine the service you have done him. John never says a word about any honour or reward for himself; but you must have seen how often the nation has said, during the last few months, that the "Saviour of India" should get a peerage and five thousand! . . . We rejoice that you and Lady Login are again to be employed on work for which you are both so well suited. The present loss of quiet family habits with your own children is a serious one, in bringing this young Princess into your home; but remember, this second important charge is from the Sovereign, not the East India Company, and your children's present loss will be compensated afterwards. Our lads, Alick and Charlie, give an amusing account of how John stopped three days at Rawul Pindee, where Herbert Edwardes and Becher came to meet him; and the three talked over public affairs and arrangements from ten a.m. to six p.m., each of the three days; sometimes one, sometimes another, taking a short nap, and waking up to join in the conversation! On the third evening the two departed, and John went on with his camp. They don't work like this in England!

John Lawrence, writing to his brother-in-law, speaks of the interest his nephew Alick excited among all the Sikh chiefs, who welcomed him most warmly, as the son of Henry Lawrence.

With regard to public affairs, he says:—

I have strongly advocated a discriminative amnesty. I would,

* Henry Lawrence's youngest brother, for whose eldest son Login had obtained an Addiscombe appointment.

on certain terms, forgive all lesser criminals : all those who have not murdered our people ; and so economize our powers to hunt down desperate characters. People in England seem to think that we can hold India without a native army. However essential English troops are, native troops are still more so. We can do *nothing* without the latter. We seem drifting into the old system. Now, of all other opportunities, is the time for change and improvement.

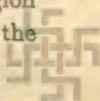
Give my kindest regards to Login, and thank him for so kindly looking after my interests.

The rule of the East India Company ceased August 2nd, 1858 ; although it was not till November 1st, that the Queen's Proclamation, announcing that fact, was issued in India, by Lord Canning. Sir C. Phipps, writing to Sir John Login, on September 3rd, alludes to the forthcoming Proclamation :—

I have to thank you very much for your last letter, full of good sense and moderation.

I do not think that you will find in the Queen's Proclamation much, if anything, that you will object to ; the great desideratum appears to me to be to convince the inhabitants of India that our rule of their country will be an impartial one. *Your* proposal seems so just that I cannot see how it can be objected to—that the Government should give support to all schools for secular education, allowing the children the free exercise of the religion of their parents, but not preventing them from hearing the truths of the Christian faith, if they wish to do so.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.



Chapter IV. 1858-63. When the terms of the Proclamation were known in England, Lord Shaftesbury thus writes :—

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Dec. 9th, 1858.

. . . . Can you spare time to come to pay me a visit at St. Giles, that I may have some Indian talk with you? I want it *much*. . . .

The Proclamation will do *our* work. The framers did not intend it. Their minds were one way, but God made their pens go another! You may safely deduce from it everything we want. Call on Venn, and talk with him. He takes a bright view, as you do. He is a wise man; the wisest, I think, in the ministry of our Church.

Awaiting reply, I remain,

Yours very truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

Again, on January 20th, 1859, Lord Shaftesbury makes arrangements for a more lengthened conference at St. Giles, on the subject of Indian missions.

Login was applied to for information by many statesmen interested in Indian questions; among others, the Duke of Marlborough.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN LOGIN,

July 10th, 1858.

I beg to return the papers you were kind enough to give me a sight of, together with Sir John Lawrence's letter, which was

most interesting. Need I say what pleasure you would give me, Chapter XIV. if you could spare time to talk with me on matters relating to these subjects, with which I am *very anxious* to become better acquainted? 1858-63.

I remain, dear Sir John,

Yours very truly,

MARLBOROUGH.

Early in September, Duleep Singh writes Lady Login from Mulgrave Castle :—

I wish you would arrange to pay me a visit soon, *before* you get tied down with the Princess; for I do not think it would do for you to bring her here. Any time will suit me, and please invite any of your friends you would like to meet you. What do you say to the Cunninghames, Alexanders, Pollocks, and any others you like? only do arrange it all, and tell me what you decide. I have settled to start for Constantinople on November 1st. I take Thornton and Presanzini, and join Mr. Baker, who is a great *shikar*. I fear there seems little chance of our meeting at Rome. From what Mr. Baker says, I expect good sport on the Danube.

Your affectionate

DULEEP SINGH.

The Maharajah, it will be seen from this, had intended to have some sport on the Danube before going to Constantinople, and started with Mr.—now Sir Samuel—Baker as “guide, philosopher, and friend.”

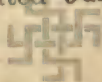
Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

The expedition, however, did not realize his expectations, and he left Constantinople for Rome, where, much to their surprise, the Logins found him awaiting their arrival.

As he was constantly with them during their stay, Lady Login was in hopes that the young Princess was the attraction; but the Maharajah took an opportunity of telling her that he had considered the matter deeply, and had come to the conclusion that an Englishwoman alone would fulfil his ideal of a wife. As she knew that he had received every encouragement from some of the first nobility in England to seek a wife among their daughters, she foresaw little difficulty in his forming a suitable alliance.

When at Kew, after their return to England in the summer, they had many letters from Duleep Singh from Mulgrave and Auchlyne, full of enjoyment of his bachelor life and fishing; and he steadily declined to appoint any one as equerry, saying he did not want to be tied to any *one* young man as a companion.

Sir John was anxious he should have some reliable person about him, and knowing that he had liked and respected Colonel Oliphant, formerly a member of the Court of Directors, who had lately met with heavy losses, he suggested his asking him on a visit to Auchlyne, to keep him company and enjoy fishing, trusting to his making his own way with him. In a letter from Auchlyne to Lady Login, dated July 9th, 1859, the Maharajah says:—



I am very glad I have followed Sir John's advice, and asked Colonel Oliphant here. He seems quite happy fishing, though he meets with indifferent sport, the water being so low. I have been away, at Susie, in order to get a shot at the deer, and have been sitting up at night watching for them, when they come to eat the corn. Colonel Oliphant does not give any trouble, and I am really thinking of doing as Sir John advised, and asking him to come to me when I require an equerry, but it must only be now and then, not to live with me always. I think this would meet the Queen's wishes too. I think he would just do, for he would not be a stranger to me, and I would feel free. What a good boy you will call me, when you will know that I actually did what you suggested in your letter, *before* I got it! and I intend to take him with me, on my return, as far as York, where our roads separate.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

Later on, in August, he writes, giving an account of his grouse shooting, &c. :—

I hope, from what you say, that you seriously think of agreeing to my proposal, that you bring all the children to Mulgrave next month; they can easily go to Whitby daily for sea-bathing. Can you arrange to come on the 1st September, to meet Lord and Lady Normanby? Otherwise I will be in a great fix, for all my time will be taken up with the shooting arrangements for the first fortnight, and there will be no lady to entertain my guests, unless you come; besides I want to arrange, with Colonel Oliphant, to come there for a beginning. There is a nice nursery at Mulgrave, and I will make arrangements for the whole party, and, if you like, get some of the young Oliphants to come, as companions for them.

Mind you get a photograph taken for me of my baby god-

Chapter daughter. Hoping sincerely to hear, by return of post, that you
 XIV. see no objections to complying with my request.
 1858-63.

I remain, &c.

DULEEP SINGH.

In November of the same year, when paying a visit to Lord Grosvenor, he writes ;—

EATON, CHESTER, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

My patience is quite exhausted! do, for *goodness sake*, get the Government to settle with me, and pay my arrears as soon as possible! I *do believe* they will take *another year* to settle my affairs!* I trust to you to stir them up, for I dread getting into debt. I am glad the poor Shahzadah has at last got a *jagheer*, however small.

I am going to a ball this evening, and expect (tell Lady Login) to meet the lovely Lady F——!

Will you write me to Teddesley, where I shall be for a few days, and say if you will have me on a visit at Kew, if I run up on December 5th? If you cannot take me, ask the Melvilles if they will.

Affectionately yours,

DULEEP SINGH.

The Shahzadah had written Sir John, imploring him to get the Maharajah, as head of his family, to make

* Little did he think that *thirty years later* they would still be unsettled

him an allowance to enable him to marry ; he being, at present, dependent on his mother's pension.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

After a long correspondence, a small *jagheer* was given the Shahzadah, 8,000 rupees per annum (less than £800 per annum), which the Government, in spite of Duleep Singh's remonstrance, considered ample provision for the only son of Maharajah Shere Singh. The visit to Mulgrave was paid, but Lady Login only took the two small children with her (one being the little god-daughter of the Maharajah). The Marquis of Normanby (owner of Mulgrave Castle) was there, with the Marchioness, and a succession of visitors ; Colonel Oliphant was duly installed as equerry.

Duleep Singh made a charming host, and did all he could to make the visit pleasant to his guests. He was very eager after sport, and one day nearly bagged an archbishop, when after partridges ! A covey rose on the other side of the public road, close to which he was standing, just as the Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson) drove past, on his way to the Castle. In his excitement and eagerness not to lose his birds, the Maharajah lost his head, and gave his guest rather a *warmer* reception than he expected, for he fired right across the carriage, the shot passing in dangerous proximity to the Archbishop's shovel hat !

The Rajah of Coorg (father of the Princess Victoria Gouramma) died about this time, after a lingering illness. He had only been able to visit his daughter twice

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

at Kew before he was taken ill. It was very sad to see them together, neither of them able to understand the other; the Rajah could not speak English, and the child had forgotten her native tongue, so that Lady Login had to be interpreter. After the Rajah was seized with ~~the~~ fatal illness, Lady Login took the Princess to visit him at his house, and, on one of these occasions, he took the opportunity of making over to his daughter the jewels he had set aside as her portion, so that there might be no trouble afterwards, and that he could leave the rest to his family, at Benares. After the death of the Rajah, it was discovered that in his will he had appointed Sir John Login his executor, to carry on to its conclusion his suit against the Honourable Company, for some Government paper they had seized, after his country was annexed. Login was able to get some pension arranged for his large family, at Benares, who were left, for a time, in great destitution, by the sudden cessation of the Rajah's pension; but, of course, the case against the Company failed!

Hearing that Lady Login had been ill, Duleep wrote thus to urge her to pay him a visit in Scotland, in August:—

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

I am delighted to hear from Sir John, to-day, that you are really better. He, at last, consents to your paying me a visit, in Scotland. I'll ask Frank Boileau to come at same time. Do fix

a day, and I'll have everything ready for you. There will be Chapter rooms in the house for all, except Frank and Edwy, and they must sleep at the inn across the water. XIV. 1858-63.

Your affectionate

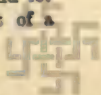
DULEEP SINGH.

The Maharajah arranged to go out to India in December, 1860, intending to stay for some tiger shooting, to see his mother, and arrange with Government for her future residence in British territories.

He had taken an active part in promoting, with the sanction of the Queen, a marriage between the Princess Gouramma of Coorg, then under the care of her godfather, Sir James Hogg, and Lady Login's brother, Colonel John Campbell (Madras Army), whose acquaintance the Princess had made after leaving* Lady Login's charge.

The Maharajah's chief reason for wishing to pay a visit to India was his anxiety about his mother. Hearing that she was thinking of employing a stranger to make an application to Government, he was anxious to prevent her taking such a step; but, after the experience of the forged letters, he was careful that there should be no doubt about the authenticity of any

* On making over the Princess to Lady Catherine Harcourt, Lady Login had been much gratified to receive an autograph letter from the Queen, expressing Her thanks to Lady Login for having undertaken the charge at her request, and for the manner in which she had fulfilled it. This was followed by the gift of a bracelet, "as a more durable mark of the Queen's appreciation."



Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

communication from himself. So, as Sir John Login happened to be writing privately to Mr. Bowring, private secretary to Earl Canning, the Maharajah took advantage of the opportunity to enclose a letter for his mother, with the request that it might be forwarded to the Resident at Khatmandoo, who would be able to see that it was safely delivered into the Maharanee's own hands.

Mr. Bowring replied :—

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CAMP, PANIPUT,

Jan. 8th, 1860.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

. . . . I received a short time ago your letter, forwarding a note from Maharajah Duleep Singh to his mother, Ranee Jinda, which has been sent to Colonel Ramsay with a request that he will deliver it to her. The Governor-General, to whom I showed your letter, has written a despatch upon the points referred to in your letter, viz., the Maharajah's desire to visit India, and the advisability of allowing the Ranee to reside in British territory. On this latter point, I believe his Excellency is of opinion that she may be permitted to do so. . . . Colonel Ramsay speaks of her as much changed. She is blind, and has lost much of the energy which formerly characterized her, taking apparently but little interest in what is going on. . . .

The Governor-General does not object to the Maharajah's visiting India, though he does not deem it advisable that he should proceed to the Punjab. His Excellency's despatch, which I have mentioned, should you see it, will place you quite *au courant* of his views on the subject.

I much regret that little Sheo Deo Singh was prevented from

visiting England with the Maharajah. He is a promising youth, and some day may have influence, which it would be well to direct beneficially. I fear that his proposed marriage with the daughter of the Shamgurbh Sirdar, a small chief in the Thanesur District, will not prove advantageous to him.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

As far as we can see at present the temper of the Sikhs is good. . . .

Yours very sincerely,

L. BOWRING.

This correspondence with the Viceroy's private secretary was apparently not viewed with favour at the India Office, where there existed some desire to sever all connection between Sir John and his former ward, for on the 31st March, 1860, Sir C. Wood informed the Maharajah that :—

Sir John Login having ceased to be officially connected with your Highness, any application made by him, on your part, cannot be officially recognized, and it would, in all cases, be advisable, that you should communicate your wishes, . . . in the first instance, to Her Majesty's Government.

To this the Maharajah replied :—

I regret that the Viceroy having written a despatch to you on the subject of my return to India, founded on a private note written by Sir John Login to Mr. Bowring, his Excellency's private secretary, you should have been led to

GG 2

Chapter XIV. 1858-63, suppose that I had wished to communicate officially with the Government of India, on any subject, without, in the first instance, submitting my wishes to Her Majesty's Government.

. . . . Being quite aware that Sir John had ceased to be officially connected with me, it never occurred to me, nor, I believe, to him, that his private note would be *officially* recognized.

The Maharajah having left for India to see his mother, and to have a season's tiger shooting, Sir John Login wrote him at Calcutta as follows :—

LONDON, *Jan. 18th, 1861.*

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

As objections are likely to be made at the India Office, to the recognition of my authority to act as your attorney and agent—without a formal and legal document—on the ground, I believe, of your having—since the former power was given to me—been in direct communication with the Secretary of State on the subject* (which by law invalidates the power), I have asked Messrs. Graham and Lyde to prepare another power of attorney, which I now send to you, and also a copy of the former one, in order that you may see in what they differ.

The new power is made out, as you will see, to enable me merely to settle your affairs with the Government, which leaves it open for you, if you like, to grant another to Oliphant for other matters; but if you wish to continue to me the same power as you gave before, it can be written out accordingly

* At a private interview with Sir C. Wood, at India House, Duleep Singh signed a paper prepared in his presence, Jan. 20th, 1860.



by Messrs. Judge, or any other respectable solicitor in Calcutta, Chapter
whom you may employ. XIV.

There is another difference—the power is not limited to your
absence from the United Kingdom—but as it is rendered null (if
the Government position be correct) by your entering into
personal correspondence with them on the subject, this is of no
consequence, as you can at any time set it aside. Just settle it
in your own mind whether to limit it to Government matters, or
extend it to others, as you may think best; but do kindly let me
have the document one way or other, with the least possible
delay. 1858-63.

Sir Charles Phipps told me that now was the time to push the
Government, as *I* should come in for all their blame in having
the matter agitated, and that *you* could suffer no damage by
my proceedings; and as he knew that I did not much care
for their annoyance, so long as I had a good cause, he thought it
by far the best opportunity for *you* to get the question advanced!
So you see how coolly I am recommended to fight your battles.
Well, be it so! It will be a great happiness to me if I can get
our people to do what is liberal and right, to enable me to hold
up my head before you, and to say that I am not ashamed of
them. My dear Maharajah, it requires some knowledge of our
national character to understand us! Because the Council
of India do not benefit a single *pie* themselves, and think they
stand up for the interests of 200 millions of subjects, they'll fight
until they have not a leg to stand on, while all the time they have
the most perfect goodwill to you, and would like to see you happy!
However, it will all come right yet; I have every confidence.

[Here follows a description of Applecross Estate.]

• • • • •

Edwy is at Roehampton with the Melvilles. Frank (Boileau)
and his brothers are as busy as possible skating on the Serpen-

Chapter time. What a contrast to your grilling at this moment near Aden,
 XIV. I suppose! My wife and all here join in kindest regards to you.
 1858-63.

Believe me ever, my dear Maharajah,

Your most sincere and faithful friend,

J. S. LOGIN.

P.S. Get Bowring to hasten on the accounts; you can explain to the Shahzadah that it is out of your power to do much for him, until they have been settled in England, by the Secretary of State.

The Maharajah writes from Calcutta :—

SPENCE'S HOTEL, *Feb.*, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I received your second letter, and reply at once, as the mail is going. I think I would prefer "Applecross" of the two properties, if the grouse and the salmon fishing are both good. Oh, it is too cruel of you to write me, so soon after coming out here, about an estate in Scotland, for now I cannot make up my mind to stay a day longer than is necessary to see my mother! Your letter has almost driven me wild; so you may expect to see me back sooner than I thought of when I left. I have got the Shahzadah here on a visit. He is a very quick, intelligent lad, but a thorough native in his manners, I regret to say. He wishes to marry another wife already! You will be surprised to hear that he has no objection to read the Bible now, and often reads a chapter to me, and listened attentively when the Rev. Gopee Nauth Nundy read the Scriptures and explained them to him, though he would not stay for prayers. I have no doubt he will one day be a Christian. He has no objection to be touched by low-caste people, as long as none of his people are present!

He tells me he has no belief in his own religion, and would like to go with me to England if he could, without his mother knowing!

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

Now, I must tell you that India is a beastly place! I heartily repent having come out, for I cannot get a moment's peace with people following me, and all my old servants bother the life out of me with questions. The heat is something dreadful, and what will it be in another month? I hate the natives, they are such liars, flatterers, and extremely deceitful! I would give anything to be back in dear England, among my friends! I cannot think or write about anything else but this property. Oh! buy it for me, if possible. My mother is to be at Rani Gunj in ten or twelve days. I wish her to await me there, as it is quieter than Calcutta. I have heard (not officially) that she is to have from two to three thousand a year, but will know for certain when the Governor-General returns here. They gave me a salute of twenty-one guns, and, *you* will be amused to hear, *an escort of two sowars!* and a guard of one *paharah* of four Sepoys, and a Naick!

Sheo Ram is here. I am sending him to my mother, as she is surrounded with very low fellows. Sowdagar, Kashee, and Bolund Khan all send their most respectful salaams to you Lady Login and Harry; they are so glad to hear about you.

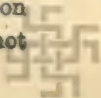
Yours affectionately,

DULEEP SINGH.

A little later he writes again:—

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have signed, and send herewith, the full power of attorney. Mr. Bowring told me yesterday he thought the accumulation would not be *much* over £70,000 (*without* interest), but was not



Chapter XIV. 1858-63. sure, but that all the papers would be sent off to England without delay. I hope you are arranging about "Applecross." I am trying to get a house outside Calcutta, for my mother. I have not yet settled whether I remain over the hot weather here, going up to the hills, and then returning to England. I am to have elephants from Government for tiger shooting. It is already very hot. Shahzadah is very anxious to come with me to England, but does not expect to manage it.

Yours affectionately and sincerely,

DULEEP SINGH.

P.S.—Since I wrote this, my mother has declared she will not separate from me any more, and as she is refused permission to go to the hills, I must give up that intention; and, I suppose, we shall return to England as soon as I can get passage.

Letter from COLONEL RAMSAY, Resident at Khatmandoo.

NEPAL RESIDENCY, Nov. 28th, 1860.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

.... I quite agree with your estimate of Jung Bahadoor; a more unprincipled scoundrel does not tread the earth. He would have taken part against us at the time of the Mutiny, if it had not been for that providential visit of his to England, and the experience he gained there; and for this we have to thank your poor brother, who exerted such a wise influence over him, and persuaded him to the step.

Jung has often told me so himself, and one of his brothers told me the same thing, as early as the month of June, in that eventful year, adding that every attempt was being made by influential men, to induce him to join in driving us out of the country, but that no persuasion would cause him to commit such an act of

suicidal folly. The Government will be in a dilemma respecting the ex-Maharanee of Lahore, unless they or Duleep Singh are prepared to allow her a permanent subsistence in our provinces. Jung Bahadoor longs to get rid of her, for various reasons personal to himself, and declares that if ever she sets foot in the British provinces, she shall never be allowed to re-enter Nepal, or receive a stiver from his Government. He declares she now gets 20,000 rupees per annum, which he grudges exceedingly. He also wants her mansion, which is on his own premises. They are always quarrelling, and she contrives to wound him on a tender point—his vanity. Pray offer my best regards to Lady Login. That is surely not a brother of hers who married the Princess Gouramma of Coorg the other day! Her sister, who married Jung Bahadoor some years ago, is now a very fine-looking young woman, and seems happy enough. The other sister, whom he also brought with him from Benares in 1858, was sadly duped, and wanted to go back to her brothers. She is said to be very unhappy—at least, she was some months ago, but I have not heard of her lately.

Believe me, my dear Login,

Yours very truly,

G. RAMSAY.

About the time of Duleep Singh's visit to India, several Sikh regiments, who had arrived from China, besieged his hotel, and were very demonstrative in their welcome to their former ruler. Though perfectly amenable to discipline, their excitement was great, and in consequence, Lord Canning thought it desirable to urge the Maharajah, to give up his intention of going up country, and to return to England at once. Although the Maharajah had gone

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

Chapter XIV.
1858-63. to great expense in preparing for a season's sport, having brought out with him an india-rubber boat and a swivel duck-gun, besides all the latest inventions in rifles, &c., for tiger shooting, he yielded his own wishes gracefully, and took passage for himself and his mother in the first available steamer for England.

On the voyage home, Duleep Singh wrote Sir John Login to beg him to secure a house in his neighbourhood (Lancaster Gate), where he might bring his mother on arrival, until her jewels and property could be landed safely, and passed through the custom-house. He said *he* had been very sea-sick, but that she had borne the voyage well! He was anxious, at the same time, to have good medical advice for her in London, as he feared her health was seriously impaired. A large empty house in Lancaster Gate was taken, and Sir John sent in some furniture, and arranged cooking-places for the natives out in the area.

Jinda Kōūr was truly an object of commiseration when one contrasted her present with her former state. To see her now, with health broken, eye-sight dimmed, and her once-famed beauty vanished—it was hard to understand the power she had wielded through her charms. It was only when she grew interested and excited in conversation, that one caught glimpses, beneath that air of indifference and the torpor of advancing age, of that shrewd and plotting brain which had distinguished the famous “Messalina of the Punjab.”

She had brought with her several native servants, both male and female, but Soortoo, a slave, who had been born in her house, and had followed her mistress' fortunes, was her favourite and confidential attendant ; she had also been Duleep's playmate as a child, being about his own age.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

The Maharanee was full of curiosity about the customs and manners of the English. She was much shocked to find, on Lady Login's presenting to her her little boy (aged eight years), that as yet his marriage had not been arranged, nor a suitable *partie* selected !

She paid Lady Login the great compliment of a return visit, when she was *assisted* up the stairs to the drawing-room floor by several servants (a piece of Oriental *etiquette* which her infirmities rendered perhaps not unnecessary). The exertion, indeed, to her, must have been most fatiguing, and a great mark of condescension on her part, for she appeared dressed in full English costume—bonnet with feather, mantle, dress, and large crinoline complete!—which she had put on *over* her native dress ! It was no wonder, therefore, that with the added weight she found it difficult to walk. The crinoline with which she was encumbered would not permit the poor Ranee to seat herself, until two of her servants lifted her bodily on to a chair, on which she was then able to sit comfortably, Indian fashion, with her feet under her, while her crinoline spread all around ! She had only just received her jewels from the custom-house, and was naturally

Chapter XIV. 1858-63. delighted to have them again in her possession; for since her flight from Chunar Fort to Nepal, the Indian Government had retained them, and only delivered them to her at Calcutta when she embarked for England. On this occasion she was decorated with a large assortment, the most remarkable being some beautiful pearls and emeralds, which, as a graceful concession to English fashion, she had arranged in a sort of fringe beneath her bonnet, in place of the "cap" usually worn at that period, inside the brim!

She was evidently quite surprised to find Sir John Login so different from what she had imagined him to be, and took occasion to inform him, with great *naïveté*, that, if she had only known before what kind of man he was, she would never have plotted to have him poisoned! A hint of the Maharanee's kind intentions had reached him at Futtehghur!

As soon as the Maharajah had departed for India, in the preceding December, Login forwarded to the India Office (December 22nd) the power of attorney made out in his favour, in 1857; and also an autograph letter, from Duleep Singh, dated Southampton, December 20th, 1860, empowering him to act as his attorney in settling his affairs with the Government.

These credentials the Indian Office refused to recognize, and a smart interchange of letters took place, no less than six passing, before the Indian Office would give any reason for this refusal to recognize a document, which had *already* been recognized, and

acted upon, by the Court of Directors. At length Chapter
(February 22nd, 1861), Lord de Grey and Ripon (then XIV.
Under Secretary of State) declared that the power of 1858-63
attorney was illegal, having been drawn out when the
Maharajah was a minor, and *ignored* altogether the
autograph letter.

On this, Login obtained a legal opinion from Mr. J. F. Leith, Q.C., Member of Parliament for Aberdeen, one of the highest authorities on Indian law, and well-known, for many years, at the Calcutta Bar.

This gentleman gave, as his opinion, that the Maharajah could not be compelled to adopt European forms in his dealings with the Government; and that, as an Indian prince, he was entitled to appoint an agent. Login therefore (while to prevent delay he applied to the Maharajah for a fresh power of attorney), protested (March 2nd, 1861) against the indignity offered the Maharajah, by the exclusion of his agent from the position assigned him by His Highness, remarking that the Maharajah's relations to the Government were secured by treaty; and that, in transacting business with them, he was only bound to produce evidence of his appointing a person to act for him as his agent; this evidence was sufficiently shown by the power of attorney, *and the autograph letter*. This, he reminded the Government, is all that is required in the case of any Indian prince.

On the 6th of April, Login presented, *under protest*, the fresh power of attorney; but when, on April 20th,

Chapter XIV.
1858-63. he asked to see the statement of account of the pension fund (applied for a year before from the Government of India), he was told that it had not yet arrived, but that when it did, "Sir C. Wood would communicate about it with the Maharajah on his arrival"; thus plainly revealing that their object, all through, had been to gain time and deal with the Maharajah himself, and thus endeavour to ignore the legal instrument which they themselves had stipulated for. With the same view, in the month of July following, when Login renewed his application, he was answered by Sir C. Wood (July 27th), that the statement had at length been received, but that the Secretary of State would "communicate with the Maharajah on the subject!"

MULGRAVE CASTLE, *July, 1861.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

As I have not yet heard from Sir C. Wood, although I have been in England now three weeks, I begin to think that he is waiting to receive a letter from *me personally*, and thus throw your power of attorney to act for me aside. However, I will disappoint him in this, for I wish *you* to act for me entirely in settling my affairs with the Government. Will you, therefore, kindly address him about this delay, and also tell him that *all* letters connected with the settlement of my affairs should be addressed to *you*, and *not to me*, and this will show him how I desire the thing to be done. My mother is delighted with

Mulgrave, but I cannot get her to agree to live separate from me at Lythe Hall, as you advise.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63

We hope to start for Scotland on Thursday.

Ever your sincere and affectionate

DULEEP SINGH.

P.S.—Kindly let me have a copy of any letter you write to Sir C. Wood.

Two days later he writes :—

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Colonel Oliphant has just received a *private* letter from Sir Charles Wood, to say that my papers are now before the committee, and will be shortly ready to send! So you see I was right! Will you at once write to Sir Charles that I wish to have my papers sent to me *through you*. As soon as you receive them, I should like very much if you would come yourself to Auchlyne and bring them with you. I wish very much to have a conversation with you about my private property in the Punjab and the Koh-i-noor diamond, and, perhaps—if you really can come—you will kindly procure and bring with you the Punjab Blue Book.

We are just starting for the north. My kindest love to all.

Ever yours,

DULEEP SINGH.

Here we have the first mention of *private estates*, and no doubt it was the information given him by

Chapter XIV. 1858-63. Jinda Kotir (who, as Queen Regent, must have drawn their revenues,) that prompted the Maharajah *years afterwards* to study the Blue Book at the British Museum. and bring forward his claim to the old family estates of Runjeet Singh, before he became ruler of the Sikh nation.

Login, having submitted Mr. Leith's legal opinion on the Maharajah's rights under the Treaty of Lahore to Colonel Phipps for perusal, received the following reply :—

OSBORNE, Aug. 4th, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Many thanks for your letter. I have read it and the enclosed legal opinion with great attention. I feel convinced that the best course which the Maharajah can pursue is, as you suggest, to submit his claims to some impartial persons, in whose judgment he might have confidence.

The constant advancement of fresh argument, and the establishment of a chronic state of contest with the Government authorities, cannot be advantageous to him.

The legal opinion may be a perfectly correct one, but these matters must be settled by the rules of common sense, and legal splitting of hairs only provokes equal ingenuity on the other side. I feel sure that any equitable arrangement arrived at by honourable and impartial men, would be both better and more satisfactory than a constant state of contest and uncertainty. The arrival of the Maharanee in England is a misfortune, though it is impossible to oppose his filial wish. I hope he will see the inconvenience of having her and her attendants in the same house with him. I am

glad to hear such good accounts of the Princess Gouramma. Pray Chapter
remember me very kindly to Lady Login, XIV.

1858-63

Ever sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

SIR JOHN SPENCER LOGIN.

Duleep Singh writes from Auchlyne to Sir John, August 1st, 1861, announcing that Sir C. Wood has sent the papers to him *direct*, in spite of all orders to the contrary; that he can do nothing unless he comes up to him to examine them, and begs he will start as soon as he can; that he is very busy training his hawks and dogs, &c., and cannot settle to business, ending, "My mother begs to send her best salaam to the kind Doctor Sahib."

Sir John had gone with his family to North Wales, and after settling them for the summer, went to Vichy to take the waters, and while there another letter came for him to Llandulas, from Duleep Singh, announcing the sudden death of his secretary, John Cawood, and the shock it had caused him. This letter announced his determination to throw up all his worldly prospects, and to return to India with his mother, to devote the rest of his life to God's service, in trying to evangelize the heathen, and begging that application be at once made for leave for his going back. Lady Login sent the letter on to Sir John; and wrote the Maharajah begging of him to take time to think before taking any serious step,

Chapter XIV. 1858-63. or even before publicly announcing his intentions, and that some proof would be required of the stability of his convictions. He replied, thanking her much for her letter, and regretting that it was out of his power to follow Sir John to Vichy, which he would have done had he not to go to Mulgrave to receive visitors there. He wrote from Mulgrave, September 22nd :—

I wish it were only possible for you and Lady Login to come by the middle of next week, for I do long to see you, and to be once more able to read with you in the mornings, as we used to do long ago, when we lived together. I feel it very difficult to lead a Christian life ; I am constantly erring before God, and really some of my sins I cannot give up.

Login had been trying to persuade the Maharajah to have a separate establishment from his mother, the influence was very bad for him, and he was sadly tempted to lapse into native habits. His mother seemed to have no objection to his being a Christian, and he had great hopes of her becoming a convert herself. At this time his religious feelings were in a very excited and unsettled state, he was ready to enquire into every different opinion and try every sect in turn.

When in London, he used to go with Sir John and Lady Login to church on Sunday, and on one occasion he did not turn up as expected ; but on their

return from church, they found Mrs. Claridge, the landlady of his hotel, waiting to see them. She informed Sir John that she was so interested in His Highness, that she could not see him led astray by other young men, without speaking; besides, she did not like such doings in her house! It appeared, that a young friend of His Highness had lately become a Plymouth brother, and was trying to induce His Highness to follow his example; that he had persuaded him not to go to church that morning, saying *he* could administer the Holy Communion to him at home; that the waiters had been scandalized by the proceedings in consequence, and she did not like it! All this will show the unsettled state of his mind at this time on religious points, and how eagerly he was blindly groping after light.

He was able to resume his usual sport before September had quite passed, and writes:—

I have been having capital sport these last few days, averaging forty brace daily. I address this to Lancaster Gate, as Sir John said you would be back by this time. I want you and he very much to come for ten days, or as long as you can stay, and you *must* bring my little godchild with you; indeed, you really must not come without her! I want your advice also about getting a good likeness of my mother (in oils). The Normanbys are here, and beg to send their kind regards.

It was in this year (1861) that the Order of the

HH 2

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

Star of India was founded, in the establishment of which Order the Prince Consort took a lively interest, himself drawing up its charter and regulations. It was thus a token of the esteem in which H.R.H., as well as Her Majesty, held the young Indian Prince, that the name of Duleep Singh appeared in the very first list of recipients, as Knight Grand Cross of the Order. The Prince Consort had previously, on the Maharajah's first arrival in England, with gracious kindness and interest, himself designed for him an appropriate coat-of-arms, and selected the motto: *Prodesse quam conspici* (to do good rather than be conspicuous), which, with the crest, appears on the cover of this volume.

The sorrow which fell upon the nation at this time was felt by none more acutely than by Login, who brought from Windsor the sad tidings of the death of the noble-hearted Prince Consort.

5, LANCASTER GATE, Dec. 30th, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,

It was very kind indeed of you to write me to explain your inability to see me when I went up to Windsor on the 14th. I did not, under the circumstances, expect that you would, and felt it necessary to have a note prepared to excuse myself for having attempted it. I had, on two or three occasions, made inquiries at Buckingham Palace, before the bulletins were issued, and ventured, in my anxiety, to do so at Windsor.

If the universal sympathy of the civilized world, and the heart-

felt sorrow of the millions who delight to acknowledge her sovereignty, and to take a deep and affectionate interest in all that concerns the welfare of our most beloved and gracious Queen, can in any way tend to alleviate grief, under so sad a bereavement, Her Majesty must have enjoyed that consolation to an extent to which the history of the human race affords no parallel ; nor can I doubt that the manner in which the virtues of one whom she loved so well have now been honoured and appreciated, as an example to humanity, can be otherwise than most gratifying. I sincerely trust, however, that these have afforded only a small portion of that consolation with which Her Majesty has, through Divine grace, been sustained in her deep affliction, and that its sanctifying influences may be abundantly experienced by all who are dear to our beloved Queen !

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

Again he writes :—

. . . . I have for the last few days been anxious to write to you on the Maharajah's affairs, but have been prevented by the fear of being intrusive, while your attention must be occupied so incessantly. But in the hope that you will excuse my wish to avail myself of any leisure which you may happen to have, I shall send this, although you may not be able to acknowledge it for some time.

I am afraid that the Maharajah is getting thoroughly under his mother's influence, and that our only hope of saving him from discredit is to get him to live apart from her, as had been arranged, and to find some suitable companion of his own age to reside with him. He authorized me to look out for a young man to attend lectures with him, but changed his mind. When he was last in town, he was again full of arrangements for an estate in India, and to return there, after a short time, and most anxious to accept

Chapter the Government offer, for anything they might be disposed to give
 XIV. *without trustees*, so that he should have *entire control over the*
 1858-63. *amount*, but I told him, that I considered such an arrangement
 to be very inexpedient, and that, if such were his determination,
 I had better withdraw. I accordingly have written the enclosed
 letter, which I shall send to him on your returning it to me.

Sir John Lawrence has been quite prepared to go into the case,
 if submitted to his decision; but, on the 19th instant he wrote
 me, "Sir Charles Wood has never said a word to me since
 I was at Windsor, and I, of course, have not referred to it
 myself."

J. S. L.

To this Sir Charles replied :—

OSBORNE, Jan. 4th, 1862.

. . . . I am very sorry to hear what you say about the Maha-
 rajah—nothing could be so destructive to him as that he should
 succumb to his mother's, or any other native influence. He is too
 good to be so lost; and, if I were in your place, I should certainly
 not, at such a moment, forsake any position which gave me any
 influence over him, or could possibly tend to prevent his doing
 anything foolish. I do not think, if it were pointed out to him,
 he would do anything wrong.

I should have answered you some days since, but you may
 conceive what this house is at present! for the very air we breathe
 is an atmosphere of sorrow, and that is a bad medium in which to
 transact business.

Always very sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

5, LANCASTER GATE, Jan. 8th, 1862.

Chapter

XIV.

1858-63.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,

. . . . If I could, for a moment, suppose that, by retaining the papers connected with his case, and by continuing to act for him at the India Office—while we differed so much in respect to the arrangements which appeared advantageous to his interests,—I would be more likely to maintain any influence I possess with him, I would, of course, regret very much, especially at the present time, to be under the necessity of doing so. But, as I think I know the Maharajah very well, and that, so far from weakening my influence with him by doing so, I am more likely to strengthen it, I have still thought it better to send the letter and papers, trusting that I shall yet be able to make it clear to you that I have done right. . . . While I have returned him all the official documents and memoranda connected with his claims, I have expressed my readiness to give him every assistance in my power in explaining any points required, . . . and satisfied him that I have only his best interests at heart, . . . and do not give up the charge of his case under any feeling of temporary annoyance at his vacillation—but certainly more in sorrow than in anger. I feel very certain that, after having done this, and giving him, I hope another proof that I am not actuated by selfish motives—of which, like all Orientals with whom I have come in contact, he is very suspicious—he will give more weight to the remonstrances which I think it necessary to make, against the self-indulgence to which he gives way so much. I think, also, that when it becomes known that (rather than have anything to do with an arrangement which I cannot but consider most *improper* and *injudicious* on the part of Government, and which I certainly believe would never have been thought of, had they not been most anxious to make it appear that their first proposal of settlement was very liberal), I have determined to give up my position near him, they may look a little more carefully into the

Chapter matter ; at least (although I may flatter myself a little too much
XIV. in supposing it to have this effect), I shall, at all events, have
1858-63. done my duty in thus protesting against it.

. . . . Most earnestly do we all hope and pray that our beloved Queen may be enabled, through Divine strength, to continue to set before Her people that bright example of Christian resignation and Christian duty, for which they have hitherto had so much cause to be grateful.

Believe me, very sincerely yours,

J. S. LOGIN.

OSBORNE, *April 13th*, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

. . . . I shall be very glad, for the Maharajah's sake, and yours also, when his affairs are finally settled, for all this constant uncertainty and negotiation must be very annoying. He ought to be very grateful to you for all the trouble which you have taken, for never did anybody work harder for another's interests!

Pray remember me very kindly to Lady Login.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *June 16th*, 1862.

. . . . I quite agree with you that it is most important for the welfare of the Maharajah that his mother should not be prevented from returning to India. I fear very much that, as long as he remains under this influence, he will retrograde in his moral and social character, instead of advancing to become an English gentleman, as I thought he was doing.

C. B. PHIPPS.

Login's method of dealing with Duleep Singh, at this crisis of his life, proved its wisdom by the result ; it

roused the better instincts of his nature, and impelled him to make an effort to save himself from the life of self-indulgence into which he was drifting. Chapter XIV. 1858-63.

He wrote to Sir John in June :—

I have decided to arrange for my mother's return to India, and will see Sir Charles Wood on the subject at once, to have a place of residence fixed for her. I must see you soon, and will go up before I have to attend the marriage of the Princess Alice at Osborne, to which I am invited on July 1st.

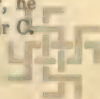
Some difficulties were made about the Maharanee's place of residence in India,* so the Maharajah took a separate house for her in London, with an English lady as companion, where she lived till her death, in the following year.

The India Office having made it evident that they wished to deal with the Maharajah *alone* (without any advisers) regarding his future settlement, Login wrote as follows, to his former ward :—

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

When you expressed your desire to be educated as a Christian, I explained to you the sacrifices that a profession of

*Sir John Lawrence, now a member of the Indian Council, writes Login, June 8th, 1862 :— There can be no doubt whatever that the Maharanee is better out of India than living in that country. There she is sure to do mischief ; here, I admit, she will be equally the evil genius of the Maharajah. It is for the Secretary of State for India to decide which interest is of paramount importance ! As to the Maharajah's claim for compensation for losses during the Mutiny, he should *lodge his complaint again*, if he wishes the matter attended to by Sir C. Wood.



Chapter XIV. 1858-63. Christianity would entail upon you, with regard to your position among your countrymen and former subjects; and now that the settlement of your affairs is under discussion, I wish to draw your attention to several points, which in your anxiety to secure the provision offered you *personally*, you may be apt to overlook. I have already shown you the responsibilities which devolve upon you as a Christian, and the influence your example may reasonably be expected to exercise on other natives of India. I wish now to point out, that the principles involved in the question between you and the Government are of wide application, and upon their decision much depends.

It rests with you to determine whether a native of India, who has embraced Christianity, can be legally required to give up his birthright, and to divest himself of privileges to which, by the laws of his country, he is entitled. I hope, for the sake of the millions who are, I trust, likely to be interested in the question, that you will not hesitate to have it settled. But besides the principles of general application, there are other points worthy of your consideration which may be affected by it. By the Treaty of Lahore, you very wisely gave up your political position, and all pretensions to sovereignty for yourself and your descendants, under former rights. But your position and privileges as head of your family, are in no way affected thereby.

As it seems to be in every way expedient that you and your immediate descendants (if you have a family) should avoid, for several years to come, the risk of placing yourselves in the way of any temptation to encourage, or keep up, political aspirations in the Punjab, it is strongly to be recommended that you should make up your mind to remain in England, and, if possible, to marry into a family of high character and befitting rank. The arrangements proposed by Government ensure a sufficient provision for them, and with prudent management, you have the power to make them wealthy.

In the event of your securing your position under the Treaty, to

the control of the balances of State pensions, *through trustees*, Chapter XIV. 1858-63.
 and your right to devise by *will*, at your death, any unappropriated balances, I would recommend, if you have no personal descendants, that you claim your right, by the laws of India, to adopt an heir (say, your nephew, Sheo Deo Singh, or one of his sons, whose character may give confidence that he is worthy), leave him by will, say, one-third of the unappropriated balances, as your heir, and two-thirds for Christian education among the Sikhs. . . .

Hatherop Castle was purchased at this time by the Maharajah, with money advanced for the purpose by the Government. In his eagerness to possess an English estate, and accept the large sum of money offered him, he was a little inclined to overlook the interests of others, and forget the duties of his position as head of his family, though reminded by constant appeals from his nephew, the Shahzadah, who was anxiously expecting the settlement of the Maharajah's affairs, in the hopes of obtaining some addition to his paltry allowance.

LOCH KENNARD LODGE, *August 1st, 1862.*

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I received yesterday the letter from Sir C. Wood, which I enclose. . . . The terms offered seem liberal, and I think I ought to accept them; but pray let me know what you think and advise.

Oct. 28th, 1862.

The letter to Sir Charles Wood has been sent, after altering it in the way you wished.* . . . I daresay you have by this

* See p. 512.

Chapter time heard that I have bought the place in Gloucestershire
XIV. (Hatherop) for £183,000, and I think it is a good investment.
1858-63.

The "investment," however, did not turn out so profitable as the Maharajah had anticipated; and in 1863, by the advice and sanction of the Government, it was sold, and the estate of Elveden, in Suffolk, purchased in its place.

Amongst other schemes for the development of India, in which Sir John Login took much interest, was that of the promotion of railroads and tramways. In December, 1862, he was asked by the Board of the Indian Tramways Company—now South Indian Railway Company, of which he was one of the original members—to go out to Bombay as their representative, to confer with the Governor, Sir Bartle Frere, on matters connected with their interests.

This was Sir John's last visit to India. He returned to England in April, 1863, after having thoroughly examined all the various lines proposed, throughout the Bombay Presidency.*

The transition, from the Indian climate to the bitter easterly winds of an English spring, was too sudden, and soon after his return he had his *first* severe illness, and was advised to go to the seaside for change. He went accordingly, with his family, to Felixstowe, on

* He had intended to go into Bengal also, but the hot weather was too far advanced.

the Suffolk coast, and had been there but a short time, when he received a telegram from the Maharajah, begging him to come to him at once in London, as the Maharanee had died that morning. The Maharajah himself, had been hastily summoned from Loch Kennard Lodge, Scotland, only a day or two before, and had written to Sir John that very morning to say that his mother seemed better since his arrival.

On arrival at Abingdon House, Kensington, where the Maharanee had lived, Sir John and Lady Login found her household in great distress and consternation. The arrangements for the disposal of her remains were left in Sir John's hands, and it was settled that they should be placed temporarily, in an unconsecrated vault in Kensal Green Cemetery, until they could be conveyed to India, to receive the funeral rites of her religion. A large number of Indian notabilities attended this interment, as a mark of respect to the mother of the Maharajah, and to the surprise of every one present, especially of those who knew the effort it cost him to overcome his nervousness in speaking in public, the Maharajah, in a few well-chosen words, addressed the native attendants in their own language, comparing the Christian religion with that of the Hindoo, and assuring them, that in the blood of Christ alone, was their safety from condemnation in a future state. It was an impressive incident in a strange scene!

The Maharajah did not get possession of Elveden,

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

Chapter until the 29th September, and, owing to necessary
XIV. repairs and alterations, was not able to take up his
1858-63. residence there, until the following November. He
was very anxious, however, that Sir John should
inspect his new purchase, and wrote on the 20th
September asking him to do so. But this was not to
be—his best friend was never destined to see the
place, which for the next nineteen or twenty years
was the Maharajah's home in England!

A greater loss, a more poignant grief, than had yet
come into his life, was this year in store for Duleep
Singh. Two months after his mother's death, he had
to mourn the loss of him, who, from his early boyhood,
now fourteen years before, had been his truest and
most faithful friend, on whose wise and disinterested
counsel he had been accustomed to lean all his life,
whose mind and energies had been throughout devoted
to his best interests, and whose bright example of
uprightness and integrity had led him to desire for
himself a part in a religion which made it possible
for a man to lead such "a God-like life on earth!"

On the 18th October, 1863, John Spencer Login
passed peacefully into his rest—bearing with him the
love and veneration of all who had ever known him,
for none could fail to see in him one who "walked
with God."

"He was not, for God took him." So sudden
was the summons—to him not dread, but welcome

—that it fell as a shock on those who looked for many more years of service to God and man from that untiring brain and energy; yet, though not quite fifty-four years of age, his heart had been weakened by the hard and constant work of his early life in India, and doubtless had suffered a severe strain from the anxiety and worry, arising from the settlement of the Maharajah's affairs.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

The little churchyard of Felixstowe, was the scene of a simple but striking ceremony, when, on the 24th October, all that was mortal of John Login was laid in the grave. By their own special desire, the coast-guardsmen of that station, whose hearts he had won during his daily rides along the beach, attended in uniform, under the command of their officer, Lieutenant Hart, R.N., and carried the coffin to the grave. By this kindly act of sympathy and respect, it thus came about that Login received these last earthly honours from that service to which, in his youth, it had been his great ambition to belong.

Very many old and valued friends followed him to the grave, besides his own and his wife's immediate relatives, well-known names in India,—Sir John Lawrence, soon after to be made Viceroy of India, and to receive his peerage; Sir Frederick Currie, Bart.; Sir James Alexander, K.C.B., and many others.*

* One of these, John Marshman, C.S.I., formerly editor of the "*Friend of India*," then taking holiday at the seaside, was an old friend whose society Login had much enjoyed, both being deeply interested in India. Marshman was then busy with his "*History of India*," the first volume only being complete.

Chapter The Rev. William Jay, formerly Chaplain of Futteh-
XIV. ghur, read the burial service, assisted by the clergy of
1858-63. the parish.

The grief of Duleep Singh was most intense and unaffected. At once, on receiving the sad intelligence, he hurried to the family at Felixstowe, and, at the funeral, took his place as chief mourner with Login's two sons. One of those present has described the touching spectacle of the Maharajah's impassioned grief beside the grave, as he gave utterance to the words, "Oh, I have lost my *father*!—for he was, indeed, my father, and more than my father!" When speaking of his loss to Lady Login, he said, "If *that* man is not in Heaven, then there is not one word of truth in the Bible!"

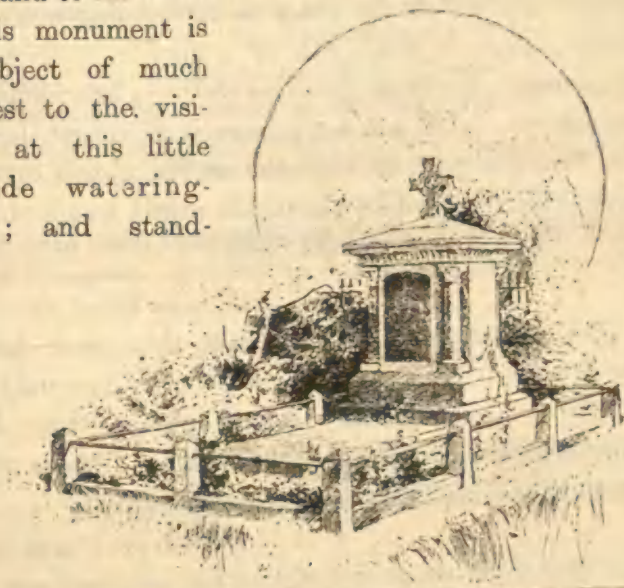
The great desire of the Maharajah was that his guardian should be buried at Elveden, in a new mausoleum which he designed to build there as a family burial-place, and he intended the interment at Felixstowe to be only temporary, until such time as this edifice could be completed; but, by Lady Login's wish, the arrangements at Felixstowe were made for a permanent tomb, and, later on, the Maharajah erected to his guardian's memory, in the churchyard there, a beautiful monument of grey-and-red granite and white marble, the design of which was approved by Her Majesty, who herself selected the text to be cut on it—thus marking the estimate of his character formed



by the Sovereign he had so loyally served,* and which she had already expressed, in a letter written by her command to his widow.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

This monument is an object of much interest to the visitors at this little seaside watering-place; and stand-



* The following inscription is placed on the tomb :—

In Loving Memory
of
SIR JOHN SPENCER LOGIN,
Who died at Felixstowe, October 18th, 1863,
In the 54th year of his age.
This Monument is erected,
By his Affectionate Friend and Ward,
THE MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH,
In Grateful Remembrance of the
Tender Care and Solicitude with which
Sir John Login
Watched over his early years,
Training him up in the pure
And simple faith of Our Lord and Saviour
JESUS CHRIST.

"The memory of the just is blessed."—*Proverbs* x. 7.



Chapter ing, as it does, on the highest piece of ground at that
XIV. point on the coast, the white marble cross on its
1858-63. summit has served for years as a "leading-mark" for
pilots. Thus, in his death, as in his life, he serves his
fellow-men—the cross above his resting-place reminding
the seaman, as he steers his homeward course, how he
also "may so pass through the waves of this trouble-
some world," as in like manner to attain a safe anchor-
age in the haven of eternal rest !

Of the many letters written at this time—besides
the one from Her Majesty just referred to—only two
or three are subjoined ; containing, as they do, a
tribute to his memory, in the words of those whose
good opinion he himself most highly valued.

ST. JAMES'S PALACE,

Oct. 24th (5 p.m.), 1863.

MY DEAR MISS LOGIN,*

I can hardly attempt to express to you how shocked I was to
see yesterday, when arriving at Edinburgh, the account of the
sudden death of my dear friend, your father. I had hoped that
he had entirely recovered from his illness, and that we might
hope for a long-continued life of usefulness. Lady Login knows
how strong was my regard and friendship for him. I find it quite

* This letter was addressed to Login's eldest daughter, who died at Pau
two years after her father.

impossible to say how much I regret the loss of so excellent and valued a friend. There were, however, dear Miss Login, few people so well prepared for a sudden call to his Maker, for few people had such strong feelings upon religion, or acted so uniformly upon Christian rules. If I dared to intrude on your dear mother's sacred grief, I would beg to be allowed to assure her of my sympathy in her loss, founded on the deep regard and respect I feel for the truly good man whose loss we mourn. . . . For you, also, I feel deeply. What must have been your love for such a father! . . . I have only just arrived in London (5 p.m.), or I should have asked to be permitted to join to-day in the last sad tokens of respect. It would be very kind if you would write again soon, to tell me of Lady Login.

Believe me, very sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

WINDSOR CASTLE, Oct. 27th, 1863.

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

The Queen has this morning commanded me to write to you in her name, to express to you the *deep* and *very sincere sympathy* with which she has heard of the overwhelming affliction which has fallen upon you! Few, indeed, can so well enter into the grief under which you must now be suffering! You are well aware of the high opinion which the Queen entertained of your excellent husband, my valued friend. Her Majesty had frequently shown this, not only in the honour bestowed upon him, but in the confidence so often reposed in him, and never disappointed. He was a thoroughly good, conscientious man. What higher praise can be earned on earth? What better passport can there be to Heaven?

I hardly know anybody who could be better prepared for a calm, though sudden and entirely painless, end. I did not intend,

Chapter when I began this letter by the Queen's command, to enter
 XIV. into my own feelings; but I had a very *great* and *real* friendship
 1858-63. for your most excellent husband, and to me these thoughts
 are very soothing. I only carry out the Queen's repeated instructions, in assuring you, that sympathy for you is most sincerely combined with true regard and respect for him that is gone.

Believe me always, dear Lady Login,

Sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

WINDSOR CASTLE, Oct. 28th, 1863.

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

I had written, but not sent, the accompanying letter by the Queen's command, when I received yours this morning. I feel very strongly the kind exertion you made in writing to me, and I pray God may strengthen and support you! You cannot overrate the regard I had for my dear friend, your husband, and my admiration of his character. I am very glad to hear that the Maharajah has shown so much feeling of the debt of gratitude which he owed to his kind and gentle, but always honest, mentor; it will, indeed, be a terrible loss to him, for Sir John always told him the truth, and gave him the sincerest advice.

The Queen read your letter with the greatest interest. If there is anything kind from Her Majesty that I could say, and have not said, I have so far gone within her commands!

The Queen has been very sorry to read the account you gave of Princess Gouramma's health; she wishes to know whether you think that it would be injurious to her health to come down here to see Her Majesty?

The Queen does not forget the kind manner, in which you and Sir John undertook the care of this poor child, at great personal

inconvenience. If it is too much for you to write and answer Chapter XIV. this yourself, pray ask your daughter to do so.

1858-63.

Always sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

OSBORNE, *Feb. 17th*, 1864.

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

The Queen was very much grieved at the account you gave of the poor little Princess in your letter, and directed me to telegraph at once to enquire for her, in her name.

It is very sad to see one so young cut off, but I think you have long thought that her lungs were in a very unsatisfactory state.

I shall be greatly interested to see the sketch of the monument which you and the Maharajah have approved, and when I go to London shall certainly go to see the model. There has rarely lived a man with a more extended and pure benevolence; and I have certainly learned more of India, and Indian affairs, from him, than from any other man.

I fear, from what you say, that Princess Gouramma is in a very dangerous state. . . . The dear Maharajah is not always very wise in his decisions,* and I fear there is nobody *now* who has much influence over him. He must miss his faithful Thornton, too. I suppose there is no doubt about his going to India, as you say he intends doing.

Very sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

Again—February, 20th, 1864 :—

The design for the monument is very much liked; it is both quiet, handsome, and in good taste. What do you think of the

*This refers to the Maharajah's expressed intention of visiting the Mission School at Cairo, of which Lady Login had informed Sir Charles.

Chapter enclosed inscription? It is simple and short, which I think you
 XIV. wished, but it can easily be added to if wished.* The Queen will
 1858-63. herself select a text.

Ever sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

LLANDUDNO, N. WALES, Oct. 26th, 1863.

DEAR LADY LOGIN,

I have just learnt from the newspaper, the great affliction that has befallen you. I cannot forbear to write, to tell you how much I grieve for you and your children. I know no particulars, but this I know, that you and they have suffered a loss which can never be repaired. There was so much true goodness, honour, and kindness† in Sir John Login, that he did much to make happy all around him; and these qualities, so apparent to his friends, were even more conspicuous in the bosom of his family. I remember his many kindnesses to me when I met him abroad seven years ago, when I was out of health. I shall always think of him as one whom it was a privilege and an honour to know. I can say nothing that will lessen the blow which has been permitted to fall upon you; he whom you mourn knew well the Source of highest consolation, from that Source alone can you derive help to sustain you in this time of your fearful trial. My daughter Helen is in Edinburgh, so I can send no message from her, but I know she will be full of deep sympathy with you. Excuse this note, which does but poorly express what I wish to

* This inscription was afterwards somewhat enlarged by the Maharajah, who thought it did not express fully enough all that he wished.

† Lord Lawrence's remark to a friend at Sir John Login's funeral was, "I never met another man who so perfectly combined the most straightforward truthfulness with perfect courtesy of manner."

say, for you know that my regard and esteem for your husband was deep and sincere.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

Believe me always, dear Lady Login,

Your sincere friend,

JOHN BRIGHT.

Before the Maharajah embarked to convey his mother's remains to India, he spent a week or more with Lady Login, at Felixstowe. He was anxious to help her in every way, and wished to fill the place of the father they had lost, to the children of his guardian.* If anything happened to him during his absence in India, his will was made, he informed her, and he had provided handsomely for his god-daughter. He spoke of his own future with great anxiety, and seemed earnestly desirous to lead a life worthy of his Christian profession. He dreaded a marriage with a worldly woman, such as he might meet with in society, and said that he would like to meet with some young girl whom he might train to be a helpmeet for him. With this view, he said he had made up his mind to visit the Missionary School^s at Cairo on his way out, and ask the missionaries if they could help him; he had never forgotten the interest these orphan girls had excited in him.

* Edward, the eldest, was appointed to the Indian Finance Department by Sir John Lawrence, Governor-General of India. He died in India, December 16th, 1876.

Chapter XIV.
1858-63. Lady Login told him to weigh well beforehand the consequences of such an irrevocable step, as it would influence his whole after-life.

To show her that he was serious, he left with her a paper in which he had sketched out his intentions. During this visit, the Maharajah read with much interest a report of the American missionaries, on the results of their mission at Futtehghur up to the time of the Mutiny, when the mission was destroyed by the mutineers. The report had been sent from America to Sir John Login. An account was given of the successful working of the *ten* schools for boys, established and paid for by Duleep Singh, and superintended by the American Presbyterian Mission, whereby 400 youths were thoroughly educated in the Christian faith, and some were being fitted to evangelize their own people.

The Maharanee Jinda Kour's remains were landed at Bombay, where arrangements were made for her funeral rites, and the ashes were scattered on the sacred waters of the Nerbuddah.

The Maharajah wrote from Bombay to announce his engagement, and soon after the following notice of his marriage in Egypt was published in the *Times of India* :—

THE MARRIAGE OF DULEEP SINGH.—A correspondent of the *Times of India* writes as follows :—“The marriage of the Maharajah Duleep Singh took place at the British consulate, Alexandria,

on the 7th June, in the presence of a very few witnesses. The young lady who has now become the Maharanee is the daughter of an European merchant here. Her mother is an Abyssinian. She is between fifteen and sixteen years of age, of a slight but graceful figure, interesting rather than handsome, not tall, and in complexion lighter than her husband. She is a Christian, and was educated in the American Presbyterian Mission School at Cairo; and it was during a chance visit there, while on his way out to India, that the Prince first saw his future bride, who was engaged as instructress in the school. Duleep Singh wore at the wedding European costume, excepting a red tarboosh. The bride's dress was also European, of white *moiré antique*, à *fichu* *pointe d'Alençon*—short lace sleeves, orange blossoms in her dark hair, with, of course, the usual gauze veil. She wore but few jewels; a necklace of fine pearls, and a bracelet set with diamonds, were her only ornaments. The formula of civil marriage at Her Britannic Majesty's consulates in the Levant is very brief. Both parties declare that they know no lawful impediment to their union; then they declare that they mutually accept each other as husband and wife, and the civil ceremony is over. This formula was pronounced by the Prince in English; the bride, in a low but musical voice, read it in Arabi (that being the only language with which she is acquainted), and thus 'Bamba Muller' became the 'Maharanee.' She showed much self-possession through it all. A religious ceremony was performed by one of the American ministers at the house of the bride's father; and the newly-married pair retired to the Prince's house at Ramleh, a few miles from Alexandria."

The young couple, on their arrival in England, lived in retirement for the first few years at Elveden; a governess being engaged in teaching the young Maharanee English before introducing her to society.

Chapter
XIV.
1858-63.

for which she never cared much, being of a retiring, serious nature. Though very young, she was deeply imbued with religious feeling, and of a sweet and gentle disposition.

The Maharajah used to describe, in an amusing way, his difficulties when attempting to converse with his *fiancée*, on first acquaintance ; she only spoke and understood Arabic, so that he had to employ his dragoman as interpreter. He told Lady Login that he had made over Soortoo (his mother's attendant) to the care of Dr. and Mrs. Wilson, Bombay Mission, that she was now baptized and leading a most exemplary life as a Christian. Lady Login heard afterwards that she died at Bombay during an epidemic.

During the spring of 1864, after a long illness, the Princess Victoria Gouramma, of Coorg, died, leaving an infant daughter, for whom, when she felt herself dying, she earnestly bespoke Lady Login's maternal care.* She had deeply felt the death of Sir John Login. The first visit Lady Login paid her after that event, she found her and her little one dressed in deep mourning. Observing how ill and weak she was, Lady Login told her she ought to be in bed ; on which she replied, " I only got up and dressed to show you that I mourn, out-

* At Lady Login's entreaty, the Queen arranged that a pension should be allowed by the India Office for the education and support of this child. The Queen, however, made it a condition that she should be entirely under Lady Login's care.



wardly as well as inwardly, for that *good man* who was such a true friend to me." Chapter
XIV.

Her Majesty's kindness and solicitude never failed during the Princess's illness; constant enquiries and telegrams were sent by command, and after her death, the following inscription was sent, to be placed on her monument in Brompton Cemetery.*

Of the life of Duleep Singh, after this period, Lady Login can say very little from her own personal knowledge. She did not often visit Elveden, and, save for the occasional visits paid her by the Maharajah, at Felixstowe and in London, she saw little of him and his family.

The Queen showed great kindness to the Maharanee, receiving her at Court and in private most graciously; her unassuming manners and gentle disposition making a very favourable impression.

For many years Duleep Singh's strict religious life was common report, indeed, during the visits Lady Login paid to Elveden, he was much occupied with

* Sacred to the memory of
PRINCESS VICTORIA GOURAMMA,

Daughter of the EX-RAJAH OF COORG,

The beloved wife of LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN CAMPBELL,

Born in India, July 4th, 1841.

She was brought early in life to England; baptized into the Christian faith, under the immediate care and protection of

QUEEN VICTORIA,

Who stood sponsor to her,

And took a deep interest in her through life.

She died 30th March, 1864/

"Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold."—*John x. 16.*



Chapter religious meetings, in which he took a prominent
XIV. part.

Some years later, she was aware that he was engaged in composing an opera, and that, in consequence, he was much in London ; but she knew nothing of his money difficulties until July, 1883, when the Maharajah came unexpectedly to pay her a "farewell visit," as he said. He had taken passage to India for himself and his whole family in December, intending to resume native life, and be "done with England and her hypocrisies for ever !" He told her that he found he had no longer the means to support the rank *given to him* in England ; that the Government had arranged that, at his death, his property was to be sold, so that there was no future to look to for his eldest son, for whom they would only make a provision of £3,000, which he (the Maharajah) considered insulting ! He was evidently very angry with the India Office, but when alluding to the Queen, and her great and un-failing kindness to him, he fairly broke down. In consequence of this interview, Lady Login, through Sir Henry Ponsonby, made an appeal to the Queen, telling the substance of her conversation with the Maharajah ; and the whole matter was, by Her Majesty, referred to the Secretary of State for India for reconsideration.

It was only natural that the chief opposition to a liberal settlement should come from the *Indian* Government, whose whole anxiety was to be able to report

favourably of Indian finance. Each successive Governor-General had had the command of the accumulations from the Lahore Treaty Fund, and each was unwilling to have them deducted; and, as time went on, and the sum increased, so did the difficulty of parting with it! The Maharajah brought his legal adviser to look over some of Sir John Login's letters and papers, and, before leaving, this gentleman advised His Highness to implore the Queen to use her influence to have all transactions between the Maharajah and the India Office, since Sir John had ceased to act for him, wiped out, and a fresh departure made; because it was evident that he had eagerly accepted, in his difficulties, all baits of money offered, instead of insisting on the real terms of the Treaty being carried out, and a final settlement made. To this the Maharajah cordially agreed.

That Duleep Singh was willing and ready to come to some equitable agreement is evident, for he offered to abide by the arbitration of any three English statesmen to be named by the Queen—if *they were unconnected with the India Office!*

His departure for India was deferred, pending the decision of his claims, and the following letter, written to Lady Login, will show that, up to that date, he had no thought of disloyalty:—

CARLTON CLUB, July 25th, 1884.

MY DEAR LADY LOGIN,

I am sending you my book, stating my case fully. I think it will interest you. Whatever decision is arrived at, I think I



Chapter have resolved to go to India. There is a storm gathering out
XIV. there, which will burst ere long, and I trust to be able to render such services as will compel the British *nation* to take up my cause, and recognize my claims as just. The Sikhs saved India for England during the Mutiny, and the chiefs who gave assistance were afterwards rewarded by Government. Why should I not be equally successful? The advance of Russia is watched for with intense joy by many princes of India, whom you believe to be loyal; it is only a matter of a few years; but you will hear what I, the loyal subject of my Sovereign, though unjustly treated, will do, when the time comes! but I must not sound my own trumpet!

Ever, dear Lady Login,

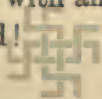
Yours sincerely and gratefully,

DULEEP SINGH.

After a couple of years' suspense and delay, finding there was little prospect of any satisfactory solution of the question, Duleep Singh, worried and indignant at the treatment he had experienced, carried out his intention, and embarked with his whole family for India, leaving his estates at Elveden at the disposal of the Government.

It would appear that the India Office had never seriously believed in his threat of doing so, for Duleep Singh declares—and the assertion has never been contradicted—that before he left Southampton a member of the Indian Council, whom he named, waited on him from the Secretary of State for India, with an offer of £50,000 if he would remain in England!

What followed is well known.



As soon as he entered Indian waters, he was arrested at Aden, by order of Lord Dufferin, in the presence of his fellow-passengers on board the mail-steamer, and told he must not proceed to India. Chapter
XIV.

The Maharanee at once returned to England with the family. The Maharajah, furious at what he regarded as an insult, refused to accept for himself any longer the pension from the British Government, and withdrew to the Continent of Europe.

The Maharanee did not live very long after this, dying in the following year, and leaving six children, three sons and three daughters, to be provided for by the British Government. The four younger children have been placed under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Oliphant, at Brighton, while the eldest son, Prince Victor, godson of the Queen, has entered Her Majesty's service, and holds a commission in the Royal Dragoons, being allowed, we understand, £2,000 a year by the India Office. Prince Frederick, godson of the late Emperor of Germany, is an undergraduate at Cambridge, and is now of age.

The future of both these young men involves a serious responsibility on the British nation. Prince Victor, the eldest, has been deprived of his birthright and inheritance by the action of the India Office, in compelling the sale of Elveden at the Maharajah's death, thus destroying his dearest ambition of founding a family in England. To those acquainted with Oriental feeling on this matter, it will be unnecessary

Chapter to enlarge on the intensity of this desire with
XIV. them.

And now that we have brought to a close this account of the early life and training of the Maharajah Duleep Singh, and of the man to whose care that training was entrusted, may we, at least, hope, that however imperfectly and tediously the story has been told, those of our readers who have followed us so far, will acknowledge the worth and character of the Governor selected for that position, the high motives from which he acted, and which he endeavoured to instil into his ward, and the earnestness and persistence with which he pressed on the Government the consideration of that ward's just rights, even when such pertinacity was damaging his own interests.

An impression seems to prevail among the mass of the British public that Duleep Singh is some pretender, with a grievance more or less imaginary against the Government, and that the "guardian" he so objurgates and denounces for unjust dealings, is none other than Sir John Login himself! It is right that we should at once rectify this latter error.

Duleep Singh has never, even in his most unguarded statements, said a word against the memory or character of his most faithful friend, and personal guardian, whose justice and uprightness he has always professed to admire, and whose loving care and solicitude for him he has ever acknowledged. The "guardian"

against whom he constantly inveighs is the *British Government*, who took upon itself that office by the Treaty of Bhyrowal, and who is so described by Lord Hardinge, the author of that Treaty.*

Chapter
XIV.

Another point we have endeavoured to bring out in these pages is the fact, that up to the time when, on Duleep Singh attaining his majority, Sir John Login relinquished his charge, there was not a more contented, loyal subject of the Queen to be found within the breadth of Her Majesty's dominions. Had Sir John Login's advice, at this time, been followed, the Government would not have got into their present difficulties, and their trusting ward would not have developed into an angry and discontented rebel!

Sir John Login brought up the boy to accept with entire satisfaction, when of age, the provisions of the Treaty of Lahore, as understood by those who signed it for him,† and by Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Frederick Currie, and John Lawrence, in whom the Sikhs had full confidence. Login advised that a *liberal* interpretation be given to the Treaty, instead of naming the very lowest sum allowed by the letter of that document,

* See Appendix.

† The Fakeer Zehooroodeen, one of the gentlemen in attendance on the Maharajah at Futttehghur, who was the son of Fakeer Nooroodeen, one of the Ministers who signed the Treaty, was well aware of the meaning attached to the terms by his father and others.

It was often a remark when the death of any pensioner on the Fund was announced, that "so much more was now the Maharajah's."

Login knew the names of all those who were originally put on the Pension Fund, as all pensions were made through him at Lahore.



Chapter
XIV.

and instead of interpreting it in a sense in which neither the Maharajah, nor his Ministers who signed it for him, understood it at the time. He agreed that the £25,000 a year, should be considered a fair income for the Prince, but that the lapses under the Four-to-Five Lakh Fund should be vested under trustees, as a provision for his family and descendants (the income, of course, to be enjoyed by the Maharajah for his life).

With this arrangement the Maharajah would *then* have been perfectly satisfied, and the matter closed once for all. At that time the private estates inherited by him from Runjeet Singh, as a Sikh Sirdar, had never been thought of, nor was any claim to the personal property and jewels, as distinct from State property, put forward.* The long delay, and niggling spirit of the treatment he met with, has given time for all this to crop up, with what sad results we all know.

*With reference to a claim lately advanced by the Maharajah, it may be observed that, in answer to a question put by Sir John Login in 1861, the following reply was given, by a very high authority:—"I do not know what the law in the native kingdoms of India may be, or what may have been established as the basis of international law in that country, but in this country there is no doubt that all property, either real or personal, inherited by the Sovereign, from his or her predecessor, becomes the property of the Crown, and not of the individual. If the same law ruled in the Treaty with the Maharajah, all the private property would be absorbed in that of the State, except what Duleep Singh may have purchased himself, which could be but little.

"In the particular instance of the Koh-i-noor, although it is now the personal property of the Queen, having been acquired during her lifetime, . . . as soon as it came into the hands of her successor, it would become the property of the Crown, and could not be alienated.

"I do not think that it would be of any advantage to the Maharajah to advance

Sir John, on finding that the Government were determined to deal with the Maharajah *alone*, without any aid or counsel from a friend, and were tempting him to give a discharge in full, by offering him large sums of ready money to deal with as he liked (while they allowed no inquiry into the use to which they applied the Pension Fund, though debarred by treaty from employing it for any other purpose), would take no further prominent part in the matter, but contented himself with merely giving advice to the Maharajah from time to time on specified points.

It was a great risk to which to expose a young lad, ignorant of English life, to place a large income at his disposal, and large sums of ready money as well, and, while discouraging him from consulting the counsellor he had chosen, allowing him none other in his place! Hitherto no Indian prince had ever been left so entirely to himself; there was always an officer appointed as agent to the Governor-General, to help and advise him, and why should they be so resolved on the dangerous experiment of throwing a youth, for whose moral welfare they were *doubly* responsible (in that he was the first Indian prince to embrace the religion of the Paramount Power), alone and unaided into

claims that could be refuted, because it would necessarily lessen the *prestige* of the rest."

From this it is evident that, as the Koh-i-noor descended from Runjeet Singh, through Khurruck Singh, and Shere Singh, to the Maharajah, it must have been considered State property, and dealt with as such by the Treaty of Lahore.

Chapter the temptations of a London life, at an age when
XIV. no English lad would be considered fit to stand alone?

Furthermore, it would almost seem as if they had presumed on his profession of Christianity, by imposing upon him a continued system of petty slights and injustice, which they would not have dreamt of offering to a Hindoo or Mahomedan prince, in the same position.

Far be it from us, to palliate or excuse Duleep Singh's later utterances! We can but deplore that a dawn of such promise, has been clouded by the darkness of bitter and revengeful passions. His present conduct and language is at such variance with his chivalrous character, that his friends can only hope that the aberration which betrays him into such licence is only temporary, and that, ere long, his veneration for the Queen, at present overshadowed by his resentment against her Ministers, will yet manifest itself with all its former intensity!



CHAPTER XV.

DULEEP SINGH AND THE GOVERNMENT.

1856—1886.

WITH the death of Sir John Login all business communications with the Maharajah ceased, and, although a lively interest was taken in his proceedings, by the family which he had hitherto held in such close friendship, it will easily be understood, now that the head and guiding hand had gone from among them, that a gradual drifting apart set in, and much went on in the life of the Maharajah that was unknown to his former friends.

Chapter XV.
1856-86.

Under these circumstances, before proceeding further, it is thought advisable to ask those whose interest may have been aroused by what has been placed before them, to refer to the introductory chapter of this volume, in which the primary objects of the undertaking have been set forth.

It will then be sufficient to give a short summary of the situation of the Maharajah with regard to the Government, and such facts as can be produced from

Chapter
XV.
1856-86.

official and other sources will be brought to show how brooding over fancied wrongs, and constant beating against the rocks of cold officialdom, has gone far towards turning a loyal and loving subject of Her Majesty, the first convert to Christianity among the princes of India, into a bitter and discontented foe! His early training led him to trust his guardian (the British Government) implicitly. How has that guardian treated him?

To answer this query, let us turn to the evidence of Sir John Login, in his private letter to Sir Charles Wood, and the memorandum subsequently drawn up by him on the Maharajah's position with the Government :—

July, 1859.

DEAR SIR CHARLES WOOD,

I hope that you will kindly excuse the liberty I take, in intruding upon your attention while it must be so fully occupied with matters of perhaps more importance; but as I am very apprehensive that if I delay to do so an opportunity may be lost of doing an act of justice in a graceful way, and in a manner which may tend to advance the public interests in India very materially, I venture to bring it to your notice.

I have already mentioned to you that the subject of the Maharajah Duleep Singh's settlements on coming of age has been under the consideration of Government since December, 1856, when he became entitled (at eighteen), by the laws of India, to the management of his own affairs, but that various circumstances have prevented a final decision upon the subject up to the present time. He has, during the last three years, been unsettled

and anxious regarding it, and to provide against some of the Chapter
inconveniences likely to arise from the delay, he has been induced XV.
to insure his life at an annual premium of £1,000. 1856-86.

With every desire, however, to make allowances for the delay, it is very difficult for a young man at his age to be patient under it, especially when he has already had to pay £3,000 as insurance premium, which would not have been necessary had his settlement been determined at the proper time; and I am therefore apprehensive that if all arrangements are not satisfactorily completed before he attains his majority (on the 4th September, little more than a month hence), he may naturally be very greatly disappointed, and be much less disposed to be satisfied with any settlement which may be made by Government than he now is.

When all the circumstances of the Maharajah's removal from the throne of the Punjab and the annexation of his country are duly considered, I think that it must be admitted to be at least very satisfactory to us, that the person who, in the opinion of other civilized nations, has suffered most from the change should himself, on attaining an age at which he can correctly judge of the rectitude of our proceedings towards him, be ready to express his approbation; and I may be excused, therefore, if I am a little anxious, for the sake of our own high character among other nations, and among the people of India, that nothing should occur to deprive us of this satisfaction.

It has been said, and, perhaps, truly, that the Maharajah has been fortunate in having been removed from his high position into private life at his early age, and also that he could never have continued to hold it, even with the assistance to which he was entitled from us, among so turbulent a people. But even admitting the latter to be the case—although I greatly doubt it—have we not, as a Government, been equally fortunate in having to act with a young man who, during the last ten years, has given us the most convincing proofs of his loyalty, fidelity, and good-

Chapter will, rather than with one who might have been otherwise
 XV disposed towards us, and have set a different example to his
 1856-86. former subjects?

I have no doubt that you will take these circumstances into consideration in determining the provision to be made for himself and his family, and that notwithstanding the *temporary* difficulties in which the general finances of India are now involved, you will kindly bear in mind that, in so far as respects the Punjab, the result of our Government has been eminently successful, and has far exceeded the anticipations which were formed when, in 1849, the Maharajah was deprived of his throne, and required, through the ministers that we had placed around him, to accept such terms as we imposed upon him.

I confess that I am less anxious for the Maharajah's personal interest in the decision of the question, than for the honour and credit of the British Government, and for the character which impartial history may yet attach to the transaction.

While admitting the necessity of the measure, it was considered at the time by almost all who took part in it to be a very hard proceeding towards the Maharajah, and one which can in no way be so satisfactorily justified, as by his own approval of it, after his judgment has been matured by ten years' experience, and he has been able to appreciate the motives from which we acted.

Trusting you will excuse the freedom with which I have addressed you.

I remain, &c.,

J. S. LOGIN.

MEMORANDUM BY SIR JOHN LOGIN.

Written in 1862.

Dec. 9th, 1856. The Maharajah wrote to the Court of Directors requesting that his settlement, on coming of age might be taken into consideration.



Feb. 19th, 1857. He was informed, in reply, that a reference Chapter
would be made to India on the subject. They also released him XV.
from the restrictions imposed on him by treaty as to residence. 1856-86.

In consequence of the mutiny of the Bengal Army, and other causes, no further communication was made in this matter until—

May 20th, 1859,—When His Highness was informed by Lord Stanley that Her Majesty's Government proposed to fix his allowance at an annual rate of £25,000, to commence on the attainment of his majority, according to the laws of England.

June 3rd, 1859. The Maharajah acknowledged the liberality of this allowance, but requested to be informed whether it was to be considered a mere annuity for his life, or to be continued in whole or in part to his heirs and descendants.

Oct. 24th, 1859. He was informed by Sir Charles Wood that, of the yearly allowance of £25,000, the sum of £15,000 was to be considered as a personal allowance, terminable with His Highness's life, and the remaining £10,000 to be derived from investment (in the name of trustees) of such an amount of India stock as will yield that amount of yearly interest—such Capital Stock (subject to provisions for his widow, not exceeding £3,000 per annum), to be at His Highness's disposal to bequeath to the legitimate heirs of his body according to the laws of England.

In the event of his leaving no such heirs, the stock to revert to the Government, subject to such settlement as His Highness may have made upon his wife. This arrangement to be in satisfaction of all claims for himself, or his heirs, on the British Government.

Nov. 1st, 1859. The Maharajah expressed his satisfaction at the manner in which it is proposed to make provision for his family—but believing that no inconsiderable portion of the sum which Her Majesty's Government proposed to place in trust

Chapter XV. 1856-86. for himself and family had already accumulated by lapses and short payments, during his minority, from the State pension assigned under treaty, he requested that the condition requiring the reversion of the trust fund to Government on failure of direct heirs should be so far modified as to admit of his appropriating such portion of it as can be shown to have accrued up to the period of his decease by accumulations, by lapses, and otherwise, from the State pensions above alluded to, for the promotion of Christian education in the Punjab, or other territories over which he had held sovereignty, placing the same under such additional trustees as may be approved by Her Majesty's Government. He also pointed out that no allusion had been made to his claim for compensation for loss of property during the Mutiny.

No reply having been received to this communication for upwards of two months, the question having, it is believed, been referred to a Special Committee of the Indian Council, and objections, it is said, having been raised to the Maharajah's request, on the grounds of interference with religious neutrality, the Maharajah called upon Sir Charles Wood at the India Office, and at a private interview stated his claims more fully.

Having been requested by Sir Charles Wood to give in a written document, to be laid before the Council, the following was at once prepared in his presence, and signed by the Maharajah:—

The Maharajah asks for £25,000 a year for life, and also the sum of £200,000 to be settled on him for life, and on his heirs after him; and in the event of no heirs, he is at liberty to devise it for any public purpose in India.

This to be in full of all demands.

DULEEP SINGH.

Jan. 20th, 1860.

The question having been thus modified by the document which the Maharajah had, without sufficient consideration of his position under the Treaty, given in, and which Sir Charles Wood had also unfortunately overlooked, the Committee of Council

had little difficulty in pointing out that the Maharajah had personally no right to any further portion of the State pension than that which had been, or might be, assigned to him by the British Government; and a communication was made to His Highness to this effect. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

It was admitted, however, in Sir Charles Wood's letter—that the whole of the State pension fixed by the Government for the Maharajah, his relatives, and servants of the State, had not been expended in each year for the above purpose—that he had no means of ascertaining the whole amount of accumulations arising from this source, but that it may probably be between £150,000 and £200,000—"that Her Majesty's Government have no intention of allowing any part of this amount to be applied to any purposes other than that for which it was assigned."

Sir Charles Wood further stated, that it will rest with the Government of India to determine, how the accumulations ought to be disposed of for the benefit of all parties interested—that he was very decidedly of opinion that the advantage accorded to His Highness, by the capitalizing of a sum yielding £10,000 a year, was greatly in excess of what he could derive from any apportionment of the present accumulation.

If, however, His Highness should be of a different opinion, Sir Charles Wood was ready to call on the Government of India to report the exact amount of the accumulation, and the proportion which could be assigned to His Highness with due regard to the claims and circumstances of the other parties interested; such amount, in that case, to be at His Highness's absolute disposal, leaving him to make his own arrangements for a provision for his wife and children.

April 3rd, 1860. The Maharajah, in reply to the above letter, explained the circumstances under which he had asked permission to appropriate the trust fund to Christian education in the event of the failure of heirs; expressed his regret at the inadvertence of which he had been guilty in respect to the

Chapter document which he had given in, at his private interview with
 XV. Sir Charles Wood, and with reference to Sir Charles Wood's
 1856-86. admission as to the state of the account, and that he had no
 means of ascertaining the actual amount of accumulations from
 the State pension, repeated a request that he had made in his
 letter of June 3rd, 1859, to be furnished with a full statement of
 accounts before he could enter upon any compromise of his
 claims.

April 20th, 1860. Sir Charles Wood explained a portion of
 his letter of 23rd March, which His Highness had apparently
 misunderstood, and stated, that he gathered from His Highness's
 letter of the 3rd April that His Highness wished to defer his
 decision between the two alternatives there referred to, until he
 shall have learned what the sum to be placed at his disposal may
 be.

April 30th, 1860. His Highness in reply, repeated his wish
 to decline any compromise or decision, until he had been favoured
 with the required statement, when he would be prepared to enter into
 such arrangements as, under the circumstances of his position, may
 appear expedient.

A further delay of nearly fifteen months having occurred in
 procuring the required information from India, on—

*July 27th, 1861,—*His Highness was at length furnished
 with a copy of the statement, accompanied by a letter from
 Sir Charles Wood, in which he pointed out that the unappropri-
 ated balance of the Lahore State Pension Fund amounted
 to about £76,500 on the 4th of September, 1859.

INDIA OFFICE, *July 27th, 1861.*

MAHARAJAH,

It appears from the statement, which is made up to the 4th September,
 1859 (a copy of which is appended to this letter), when your Highness attained

your majority, that the total amount appropriated, in accordance with the terms of 1849, falls short of the aggregate sum payable to the Lahore family—viz., four lakhs of rupees per annum—by 764,263 rupees, or about £76,500. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

The amount now annually paid to the family is about four and a half lakhs of rupees.

I trust that your Highness will now be able to return without further delay a definite answer to the proposal contained in my letters of 24th October, 1859, and 23rd March, 1860. With reference to these letters, I have only to add that if your Highness should elect to receive the unappropriated balance—say £76,500—I am willing, in accordance with the recommendation of the Government of India, to place the entire amount at the disposal of your Highness, instead of capitalizing a part of your present allowances (that is, £10,000 per annum), for the purposes and in the manner stated in the above-cited letters.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CHARLES WOOD.

Some of the documents having been omitted to be sent on from the India Office, they were furnished on application.

On referring to the statements forwarded to His Highness, so manifest a discrepancy was at once apparent in the amount to be credited, and in other parts of the account, that, without going into details, it was necessary to ask for explanations, which His Highness accordingly did, in a letter addressed to Sir Charles Wood on the subject.

To SIR CHARLES WOOD.

August, 1861.

SIR,

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 10th instant, with its enclosures, showing the manner in which the balance of £76,500, referred to in your letter of the 27th ult., has been obtained.

Before entering into the question of the amount to be credited by the Government of India, under Art. 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, of date March 29th, 1849, or into details of disbursements on account of myself, my relatives, and dependants, which had been furnished to me, it is necessary that I should point out that even at the rate assumed by the Government in the abstract which I have now received

Chapter (viz., four lakhs of rupees per annum), the amount to be credited to the Lahore
 XV. Pension Fund between 29th March, 1849, and the 4th September, 1859, i.e., for
 1856-86. 10 years 5 months and 6 days, would be Company's Rs. 4,173,333. 7. 5., exclu-
 sive of interest, and not Company's Rs. 4,071,111. 1. 9, as exhibited in the
 statement.

I would also bring to your notice, that I have not yet been furnished with any
 statement in detail of the payments made from the General Treasury, amounting,
 as shown in the abstract, to Company's Rs. 186,000, nor of advances on account
 of my personal stipend from March, 1855, to the 4th September, 1859, stated to
 amount to Company's Rs. 475,333, which are necessary to elucidate the account.

With respect to the remarks in the second paragraph of your letter of the 27th
 ult., that the amount now annually paid is about four lakhs of rupees, I can find
 nothing in the statements or letters to exhibit this, and I shall therefore be
 obliged by further information on the subject.

I have &c., &c.,

DULEEP SINGH.

It had always been the wish and intention of the Maharajah
 and those who advised him, after being furnished with a state-
 ment of the accounts, to place the matter in the hands of
 impartial persons best qualified to judge of the circumstances of the
 case, and to abide by their decision, and accordingly, when several
 months elapsed without any reply to the inquiry for explanation,
 it was urged upon Sir Charles Wood to refer the question to Sir
 John Lawrence for settlement, as the person, above all others,
 best qualified to judge of all the circumstances attending the
 negotiation of the Treaty, and, in fact, the officer through whose
 influence and exertions the Treaty had been obtained. After
 some delay Sir John Lawrence undertook to act, if assisted by
 Sir Frederick Currie; and Sir Charles Wood, having made this
 arrangement, requested the Maharajah to send in a "statement
 of his wishes and objections" to those two gentlemen, to be sub-
 mitted by some person duly authorized by him to place the case
 before them.

His Highness declined sending in any statement, but requested

Sir John Login to wait upon Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie at the time appointed, to offer any explanations which these gentlemen might require, and expressed his readiness to be perfectly satisfied with any decision which Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie might arrive at on the question, placing his case entirely and unreservedly in their hands. Chapter XV.
1856-86.

These gentlemen having accordingly considered the whole question, prepared a report (as a Sub-Committee of Council) for submission to the Secretary of State, but in consequence, it is believed, of some difference of opinion in the Council on the subject, no steps appear to have been taken by Sir Charles Wood to consider their report for nearly three months—when His Highness, becoming impatient at the delay, and being anxious that his mother (then residing with him) should return to India, and that he should accompany her for a short time, applied for, and obtained, permission from Sir Charles Wood for the purpose.

Within a short time, however, after His Highness's wish was intimated to Sir Charles Wood, and his consent obtained, the following letter was sent to His Highness from the India Office, under date *July 26th, 1862* :—

MAHARAJAH,

With reference to our first correspondence, I have now the honour to inform your Highness that since the date of my last letter, I have taken into my deliberate consideration in Council, the several accounts which have been laid before me, representing the sums which have been hitherto appropriated to the benefit of your Highness, your relatives, and the servants of the Lahore State, in accordance with the terms of 1849, and I have the satisfaction of adding, that Her Majesty's Government are now prepared to make an arrangement for the future maintenance of yourself and your immediate family, which, it is confidently hoped, will be acceptable to your Highness.

It is proposed that, without reference to your present life pension of £25,000 per annum, which will be maintained on its present footing, the sum of £105,000 (one hundred and five thousand pounds) shall be invested in the purchase of an estate in this country, to be held by trustees for your Highness's benefit, the rent thereof to be enjoyed by you in addition to your present stipend.



Chapter XV. Should your Highness marry, any provision for your widow will be settled upon this estate.

1856-86. In the event of your leaving lawful issue, you will be empowered to devise the estate to such issue in any proportion that you may think fit, or should you die intestate, the estate will, in such case, pass by inheritance to your children.

Should you have no issue, you would be empowered to devise the estate to such person or persons as you might desire to bestow it upon.

Her Majesty's Government do not, however, mean to limit to the proceeds of the estate, the amount of provision to be made after your death for such legitimate offspring as you may leave behind. They are willing to enable you to devise to such offspring, in such proportions as you may think fit, an amount of four per cent. India Capital Stock as will yield an income of £7,000 per annum; and should your Highness die intestate, the Capital Stock above mentioned will pass by inheritance to your legitimate children, according to the law of this country.

Your Highness will understand, that in making this arrangement for the future provision of yourself and your family—which is irrespective of any arrangement that has been and may hereafter be made, for other objects embraced in the terms of the Treaty of Lahore—Her Majesty's Government intend it to be final, and in satisfaction of all personal claims which you may have upon the British Government, and an acknowledgment to this effect will be required from your Highness, on your acceptance of the present proposal.

Hoping that your Highness will consider this as a satisfactory solution of the question so long pending between you and the British Government, and that you will accept it with the kindly feeling and in the liberal spirit in which it is offered.

I have the honour, &c.,

CHARLES WOOD.

Reply from the MAHARAJAH, Oct. 11th, 1862.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 26th July, informing me of the arrangements which Her Majesty's Government are now prepared to make for my future maintenance, and that of my immediate family, and which you confidently hope will be acceptable to me.

In reply, I desire to express my sincere thanks for the careful and deliberate consideration which you have given in council to my personal right as a pensioner under the Treaty of Lahore, and for the kindly feeling which is

manifested in the arrangements which are proposed for my benefit and that of my immediate family. Chapter XV.

While I regret that the whole question of my claims has not been settled, as I had hoped would have been done when it was referred to Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie, I readily accept these arrangements under the conditions which you specify, and I am prepared to sign any legal document which may be necessary to release the Government from any further pecuniary claims on my own part, or that of my immediate family, arising out of the Treaty. 1856-86.

But I hope you will agree with me, that in my position under the Treaty, and as head of my family, it is still incumbent upon me to see that fit and proper arrangements should be made for placing the control of the remainder of the State pension under trust, in such manner as may appear most advisable; and I shall be happy to enter into any further arrangements for that purpose that may be requisite.

Your letter does not allude to my claims for compensation for loss of property at Futtehghur during the Mutiny, nor to the appropriation of intestate estates of deceased relatives and members of my family; but these matters I leave confidently in your hands, believing that they will be settled in the same friendly spirit in which the arrangements now proposed have been made.

I have, &c.,

DULEEP SINGH.

To the above letter no reply has yet (December 6th, 1862) been received; but it is believed that the Government intend to act upon it by making over the money to be assigned under trust for the Maharajah's own family as proposed.

Now, from the letter to Sir Charles Wood, and from the contentions brought forward in the above memorandum, it will be seen that Sir John Login himself did not consider that the terms of the Treaty of Lahore were being carried out in the spirit which the ward of the British Government was warranted to expect.

How easily might the Government at this period

Chapter XV. have finally settled matters with the Maharajah in a manner satisfactory to him and creditable to themselves !
1856-86.

Between 1862 and 1882 many transactions took place between the Maharajah and Government, relative to the purchase of estates and advances of money for various purposes, a detailed statement of which is given further on, in quotations from the book published by the Maharajah in 1884.

No public attention was drawn to the condition of affairs until August, 1882, when Duleep Singh, no doubt observing the action of the Government in South Africa with regard to Cetewayo, commenced the following correspondence in the *Times* :—

THE CLAIMS OF AN INDIAN PRINCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.

Aug. 31st, 1882.

SIR,

As the era of doing justice and restoration appears to have dawned, judging from the recent truly liberal and noble act of the present Liberal Government, headed now by the great Gladstone the Just, I am encouraged to lay before the British nation, through the medium of *The Times*, the injustice which I have suffered, in the hope that, although generosity may not be lavished upon me to the same extent as has been bestowed upon King Cetewayo, yet that some magnanimity might be shown towards me by this great Christian Empire.

When I succeeded to the throne of the Punjab I was only an infant, and the Khálsa soldiery, becoming more and more mutinous and overbearing during both my uncle's and my mother's Regencies, at last, unprovoked, crossed the Sutlej and attacked the friendly British Power, and was completely defeated and entirely routed by the English army.

Chapter
XV.
1856-86.

Had, at that time, my dominions been annexed to the British territories, I would have now not a word to say; for I was, at that time, an independent chief at the head of an independent people, and any penalty which might have been then inflicted would have been perfectly just; but that kind, true English gentleman, the late Lord Hardinge, in consideration of the friendship which had existed between the British Empire and the "Lion of the Punjab," replaced me on my throne, and the diamond Koh-i-noor on my arm, at one of the Durbars. The Council of Regency, which was then created to govern the country during my minority, finding that it was not in their power to rule the Punjab unaided, applied for assistance to the representative of the British Government, who, after stipulating for absolute power to control every Government department, entered into the Bhyrowal Treaty with me, by which it was guaranteed that I should be protected on my throne until I attained the age of sixteen years, the British also furnishing troops both for the above object and preservation of peace in the country, in consideration of a certain sum to be paid to them annually by my Durbar for the maintenance of that force.

Thus the British nation, with open eyes, assumed my guardianship, the nature of which is clearly defined in a proclamation subsequently issued by Lord Hardinge's orders, on the 20th August, 1847, which declares that the tender age of the Maharajah Duleep Singh causes him to feel the interest of a father in the education and guardianship of the young Prince.—(Vide "*Punjab Papers*" at the British Museum).

Two English officers, carrying letters bearing my signature,

Chapter XV. 1856-86. were despatched by the British Resident, in conjunction with my Durbar, to take possession of the fortress of Mooltan and the surrounding district in my name; but my servant Moolraj, refusing to acknowledge my authority, caused them to be put to death; whereupon, both the late Sir F. Currie and the brave Sir Herbert Edwardes most urgently requested the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces at Simla, as there were not sufficient English soldiers at Lahore at the time, to send some European troops without delay, in order to crush this rebellion in the bud, as they affirmed that the consequences could not be calculated which might follow, if it were allowed to spread; but the late Lord Gough, with the concurrence of the late Marquis of Dalhousie, refused to comply with their wishes, alleging the unhealthiness of the season as his reason for doing so.

My case at that time was exactly similar to what the Khedive's is at this moment; Arabi being, in his present position to his master, what Moolraj was to me—viz., a rebel.

At last, very tardily, the British Government sent troops (as has been done in Egypt) to quell the rebellion, which had by that time vastly increased in the Punjab, and who entered my territories, headed by a proclamation, issued by Lord Dalhousie's orders, to the following effect:—

Inclosure 8 in No. 42.—To the subjects, servants, and dependants of the Lahore State, and residents of all classes and castes, whither Sikhs, Mussulmans, or others, within the territories of Maharajah Duleep Singh. . . . Whereas certain evil-disposed persons and traitors have excited rebellion and insurrection, and have seduced portions of the population of the Punjab from their allegiance, and have raised an armed opposition to the British authority; and whereas the condign punishment of the insurgents is necessary . . . therefore the British army, under the command of the Right Hon. the Commander-in-Chief, has entered the Punjab districts. The army will not return to its cantonments until full punishment of all insurgents has been effected, all opposition to the constituted authority put down, and obedience and order have been re-established.

Thus it is clear from the above that the British Commander-in-

Chief did not enter my dominions as a conqueror, nor the army to stay there, and, therefore, it is not correct to assert, as some do, that the Punjab was a military conquest.

Chapter
XV.
1856-86.

And whereas it is not the desire of the British Government that those who are innocent of the above offences, who have taken no part, secretly or openly, in the disturbances, and who have remained faithful in their obedience to the Government of Maharajah Duleep Singh . . . should suffer with the guilty.

But after order was restored, and finding only a helpless child to deal with, the temptation being too strong, Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjab, and instead of carrying out the solemn compact entered into by the British Government at Bhyrowal, sold almost all my personal as well as all my private property, consisting of jewels, gold and silver plate, even some of my wearing apparel and household furniture, and distributed the proceeds, amounting (I was told) to £250,000, as prize money among those very troops who had come to put down rebellion against my authority.

Thus I, the innocent, who never lifted up even my little finger against the British Government, was made to suffer in the same manner with my own subjects who would not acknowledge my authority, in spite of the declaration of the above-quoted proclamation, that it is not the desire of the British Government that the innocent should suffer with the guilty.

Lord Dalhousie, in writing to the Secret Committee of the late Court of Directors, in order to justify his unjust act, among other arguments employs the following. He says:—

It has been objected that the present dynasty in the Punjab cannot with justice be subverted, since the Maharajah Duleep Singh, being yet a minor, can hardly be held responsible for the acts of the nation. With deference to those by whom these views have been entertained, I must dissent entirely from the soundness of this doctrine. It is, I venture to think, altogether untenable as a principle; it has been disregarded heretofore in practice, and disregarded in the case of the Maharajah Duleep Singh. When in 1845 the Khālsa army invaded

Chapter XV. 1856-86. our territories, the Maharajah was not held to be free from responsibility, nor was he exempted from the consequences of the acts of the people. On the contrary, the Government of India confiscated to itself the richest provinces of the Maharajah's kingdom, and was applauded for the moderation which had exacted no more. If the Maharajah was not exempted from responsibility on the plea of his tender years at the age of eight, he cannot on that plea be entitled to exemption from a like responsibility now that he is three years older.

But in thus arguing, his Lordship became blind to the fact that in 1845, when the Khālsa army invaded the British territories, I was an independent chief, but after the ratification of the Bhyrowal Treaty I was made the ward of the British nation; and how could I, under these circumstances, be held responsible for the neglect of my guardians in not crushing Moolraj's rebellion at once, the necessity of doing which was clearly and repeatedly pointed out by the British Resident at Lahore?

Again, his Lordship says, "The British Government has rigidly observed the obligations which the Treaty imposed on them, and fully acted up to the spirit and letter of its contract." No doubt all this was or may have been true, except so far that neither peace was preserved in the country nor I protected on my throne till I attained the age of sixteen years—two very important stipulations of that Treaty.

He further alleges, "In return for the aid of the British troops they (my Durbar) bound themselves to pay to us a subsidy of twenty-two lakhs (£220,000) per annum . . . from the day when that Treaty was signed to the present hour, not one rupee has ever been paid."

Now, the above statement is not correct, because of the following despatch which exists:—"Enclosure No. 5, in No. 23," the Acting Resident at Lahore affirms, "The Durbar has paid into this treasury gold to the value of Rs. 13,56,637 0. 6." (£135,837 14s. 1d., taking the value of a rupee at 2s.).

Likewise Lord Dalhousie alludes to Sirdar Chutter Singh's conduct. Enclosure 19 in No. 36 will show those who care to

look for it, the reprimand which Captain Abbott then received from the Resident for his treatment of that chief, who, after that, with his sons, without doubt believed that the Bhyrowal Treaty was not going to be carried out; and, judging from the events which followed, were they right in their views, or were they not?

Chapter
XV.
1856-86.

(1) Thus I have been most unjustly deprived of my kingdom, yielding, as shown by Lord Dalhousie's own computation in (I think) 1850, a surplus revenue of some £500,000, and no doubt now vastly exceeds that sum.

(2) I have also been prevented, unjustly, from receiving the rentals of my private estates (*vide* Prinsep's "*History of the Sikhs*," compiled for the Government of India) in the Punjab, amounting to some £130,000 per annum, since 1849, although my private property is not confiscated by the terms of the annexation which I was compelled to sign by my guardians when I was a minor, and therefore, I presume, it is an illegal document, and I am still the lawful Sovereign of the Punjab; but this is of no moment, for I am quite content to be the subject of my most gracious Sovereign, no matter how it was brought about, for her graciousness towards me has been boundless.

(3) All my personal property has also been taken from me, excepting £20,000 worth, which I was informed by the late Sir John Login was permitted to be taken with me to Futtehghur when I was exiled; and the rest, amounting to some £250,000, disposed of as stated before. What is still more unjust in my case is, that most of my servants who remained faithful to me, were permitted to retain all their personal and private property, and to enjoy the rentals of their landed estates (or *jagheers*), given to them by me and my predecessors, whereas I, their master, who did not even lift up my little finger against the British nation, was not considered worthy to be treated on the same footing of equality with them, because, I suppose, my sin being that I happened to be the ward of a Christian Power.



Chapter XV. 1856-86. The enormous British liberality permits a life stipend of £25,000 per annum, which is reduced by certain charges (known to the proper authorities) to some £13,000, to be paid to me from the revenues of India.

Lately, an Act of Parliament has been passed, by which, some months hence, the munificent sum of £2,000 will be added to my above stated available income, but on the absolute condition that my estates must be sold at my death, thus causing my dearly-loved English home to be broken up, and compelling my descendants to seek some other asylum.

A very meagre provision, considering of what, and how, I have been deprived, has also been made for my successors.

If one righteous man was found in the two most wicked cities of the world, I pray God that at least one honourable, just, and noble Englishman may be forthcoming out of this Christian land of liberty and justice to advocate my cause in Parliament; otherwise, what chance have I of obtaining justice, considering that my despoiler, guardian, judge, advocate, and jury, is the British nation itself?

Generous and Christian Englishmen, accord me a just and liberal treatment, for the sake of the fair name of your nation, of which I have now the honour to be a naturalized member, for it is more blessed to give than to take.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your most obliged servant,

DULEEP SINGH.

Elveden Hall, Thetford, Suffolk,

Aug. 28th, 1882.

It will be acknowledged that there is nothing in the tone or spirit of the above letter to justify the contemptuous reply which it received, contained in the

following leading article printed in *The Times* of August 31st, 1882, and which bears conclusive evidence of official inspiration. Considering the rank then held by the Maharajah in England, the consideration due to him on account of the position from which we had deposed him, and his own known loyalty and attachment to the person of the Sovereign, surely a more dignified and less irritating response might have been afforded him! To try and turn a man into ridicule is no answer to a specific charge, and the real point at issue is, in this article, merely fenced with.

THE "TIMES"—Aug. 31st, 1882.

We print elsewhere a somewhat singular letter from the Maharajah Duleep Singh. Encouraged, as it would seem, by the restoration of Cetewayo, he puts forward an impassioned plea for the consideration of his own claims. On a first glance, his letter reads as if he demanded nothing less than to be replaced on the throne of the Punjab. He professes to establish his right to that position and then to waive it, magnanimously avowing that he is quite content to be the subject of his most gracious Sovereign, whose graciousness towards him had been boundless. His real object, however, is far less ambitious. It is to prefer a claim for a more generous treatment of his private affairs at the hands of the Indian Government. In lieu of the sovereignty of the Punjab, with its unbounded power and unlimited resources, "the enormous British liberality," he complains, permits him only a life stipend of £25,000 per annum, which is reduced by certain charges to some £13,000. All that he has hitherto succeeded in obtaining from the Indian

Chapter XV. Government is an arrangement, lately sanctioned by Act of Parliament, whereby he will receive an addition of £2,000 to his annual income on condition that his estates are sold at his death in order to liquidate his liabilities, and provide for his widow and children. It is really against this arrangement that the Maharajah appeals. His argument concerning his *de jure* sovereignty of the Punjab is manifestly only intended to support his pecuniary claims. If these were settled to his satisfaction, he would doubtless be content, and more than content, to die, as he has lived, an English country gentleman, with estates swarming with game, and with an income sufficient for his needs. This is a sort of appeal to its justice and generosity with which the English public is not unfamiliar. Duleep Singh is not the first dispossessed Eastern Prince who has felt himself aggrieved by the dispositions of the Indian Government, nor is this the first occasion on which his own claims have been heard of. For a long time he preferred a claim for the Koh-i-noor, of which he alleged that he had been wrongfully despoiled. Now it is his private estates in India which he declares have been confiscated without adequate compensation. No one, of course, wishes that a prince in the Maharajah's position should be so grossly treated. He is, as it were, a ward of the English Government, and even his extravagances might be leniently regarded. But as the claim, now publicly preferred by the Maharajah, has been disallowed after full consideration by successive Governments both in India and this country, it may not be amiss to show that his case is by no means so strong as he still affects to consider it.

The events of two Sikh wars, and their sequel, have probably faded out of the memory of most of our readers. They are, however, accurately stated, so far as the main facts are concerned, in the Maharajah's letter. It is not so much with those facts themselves that we are now concerned as with the Maharajah's inferences from them, and with certain other facts which he has

not found it convenient to state. It is perfectly true that after the overthrow of the "Khālsa" power in the sanguinary battle of Sobraon, Lord Hardinge declined to annex the Punjab and replaced the Maharajah on the throne under the Regency of his mother, the Ranee, assisted by a Council of Sirdars. This settlement, however, proved a failure, and was replaced by the arrangement made under the Bhyrowal Treaty, whereby the entire control and guidance of affairs was vested in the British Resident, and the presence of British troops was guaranteed until the Maharajah should attain his majority. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

The second Sikh war, which began with the revolt of Moolraj in 1848, soon proved the futility of this arrangement also, and after the surrender of Mooltan and the battle of Gujerat, which finally broke the reviving power of the Khālsa, Lord Dalhousie, who had succeeded Lord Hardinge as Governor-General, decided that the time had come for the incorporation of the Punjab with the British Dominions in India. Duleep Singh was at this time only eleven years of age; but he had been recognized for more than three years as the Sovereign of the Punjab, and by the advice of his Durbar at Lahore he signed the terms of settlement proposed by the British Commissioner, whereby he renounced "for himself, his heirs, and his successors, all right, title, and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever." By subsequent clauses of the same instrument "all the property of the State, of whatever description and where-soever found," was confiscated to the East India Company; the Koh-i-noor was surrendered to the Queen of England; a pension of not less than four, and not exceeding five, lakhs of rupees was secured to the Maharajah, "for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the State;" and the Company undertook to treat the Maharajah with respect and honour, and to allow him to retain the title of "Maharajah Duleep Singh, Bahadoor." Of this instrument, the Maharajah now says that he was compelled to sign it by his guardians when he was a minor, and he argues

Chapter that the political necessity which dictated it was due to the
 XV. *lâches* of the Indian Government, which had failed to fulfil the
 1856-86. pledges of the Bhyrowal Treaty, and had allowed the revolt
 of Moolraj to develop into a Sikh rebellion. In answer to these
 allegations, it is sufficient to quote the report of the British
 Commissioner, who presented the terms for signature. "The
 paper," he says, "was then handed to the Maharajah, who
 immediately affixed his signature. The alacrity with which he
 took the papers when offered, was a matter of remark to all, and
 suggested the idea that possibly he had been instructed by his
 advisers that any show of hesitation might lead to the substitu-
 tion of terms less favourable than those which he had been
 offered." Moreover, the plea that the Maharajah was a minor,
 and therefore not a free agent, is fatal to his own case; he was
 two years younger when the Bhyrowal Treaty was signed, and
 younger still when the settlement of Lord Hardinge replaced him
 on the throne, and restored to him the sovereignty, which he
 even now acknowledges might at that time have been rightly for-
 feited. We need not dwell on this point, however. The Maha-
 rajah himself would hardly press it. His claim of sovereignty is
 merely intended to cover his claim for money. He never was much
 more than nominal Sovereign of the Punjab, and he probably
 desires nothing so little at this moment as the restitution of
 his sovereign rights. The political question has long been closed;
 it only remains to consider whether the personal and financial
 question still remains open. The Maharajah complains that he
 was deprived of his personal and private property—with insignifi-
 cant exceptions—and of the rentals of his landed estates. There
 is, however, no mention of private property in the terms of settle-
 ment accepted by the Maharajah; and a minute of Lord Dalhousie,
 recorded in 1855, states explicitly that at the time the Punjab
 was annexed, the youth had no territories, no lands, no property,
 to which he could succeed. The pension accorded by the East
 India Company was plainly intended to support the Maharajah in

becoming state, and to provide for his personal dependants; and the British Government expressly reserved to itself the right of allotting only such portion as it thought fit of the "Four Lakh Fund," as the pension was called, to the Maharajah's personal use. So long ago as 1853, Lord Dalhousie wrote a despatch, intended to remove from the Maharajah's mind all idea that the Four Lakh Fund would ultimately revert to himself, and characterizing such an idea as "entirely erroneous."

Chapter
XV.
1856-86.

The Indian Government, however, has certainly not dealt ungenerously with the Maharajah. It is true that it has not recognized his claim to certain private estates no record of which exists, still less has it listened to any of his attempts to assail the validity of the instrument whereby his sovereignty was extinguished. For some years after the annexation his personal allowance out of the Four Lakh Fund was fixed at £12,500 a year—a sum which was considered entirely satisfactory by the leading Ministers of the Durbar, which assented and advised the Maharajah to assent to the terms of 1849. But in 1859 this allowance was doubled, and the Maharajah himself more than once acknowledged in subsequent years the liberality of the arrangements made. The allowance of £25,000 a year has been reduced to the £13,000 mentioned by the Maharajah in his letter, not by any act of the Indian Government, but by what, if he were only an English country gentleman, we should be compelled to call extravagance, though, as he is an Eastern prince, it is more generous, perhaps, to describe it as magnificence. He first bought a property in Gloucestershire, but this was sold some years ago, and his present estate at Elveden, in Suffolk, was purchased for £138,000, the money being advanced by the Government, and interest for the loan to the amount of £5,664 per annum being paid by the Maharajah. Some two or three years ago the Home Government of India proposed to release the Maharajah from payment of this annual sum provided that he would consent to the sale of the estate, either at once or at his



Chapter death, for the repayment of the principal of the loans advanced.
 XV. This proposal, however, was rejected by the Indian Government,
 1856-86. which maintained, in very strong and plain language, that the Maharajah had already been treated with exceptional liberality, and that if he wanted more money he should sell his estate. The Indian Government remained inexorable, but the liberality of the Home Government was not yet exhausted. The Maharajah had built a house at Elveden, at a cost of £60,000, and had borrowed £40,000 from a London banking firm for the purpose. For this loan £2,000 interest had to be paid, and the India Office has lately sanctioned the repayment of the capital sum without making any further charge on the Maharajah. It is to this arrangement, and to the Act of Parliament which sanctions it, that the Maharajah refers with some bitterness at the close of his letter. In order to settle his affairs, and to provide for his wife and family, the Act of Parliament requires that his estate at Elveden should be sold after his death. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* An argument which starts from the sovereign claims of the son of the "Lion of the Punjab," ends, somewhat ridiculously, though not without a touch of pathos, with the sorrows of the Squire of Elveden. Duleep Singh began life as a Maharajah of the Punjab, with absolute power and boundless wealth if he had only been old enough to enjoy them, and if the Khālsa would only have allowed him to do so. He is not even allowed to end it as an English country gentleman leaving an encumbered estate and an embarrassed heir. There is really a certain tragedy about the whole matter. Fate and the British Power have deprived the Maharajah of the sovereignty to which he was born. He has done his best to become an English squire, and if he has lived beyond his income, he may plead abundance of examples in the class to which he has attached himself; yet he is forced to bear the consequences himself, and not to inflict them on his children and descendants, as an English squire would be able to do. The whole case is one which it is very difficult to judge upon any

abstract principles. It is, no doubt, the duty of every man to live within his income, and yet if the Maharajah has failed to acquire a virtue rare indeed among Eastern princes and not too common in the class to which he belongs by adoption, there is no Englishman but would feel ashamed if he or his descendants were thereby to come to want. At the same time it is impossible for the Indian Government, which has claims on its slender resources far more urgent than those of the magnificent squire of Elvedon, to guarantee him indefinitely against the consequences of his own improvidence. At any rate, it is safe to warn him against encumbering his personal claims by political pleas which are wholly inadmissible. He is very little likely to excite sympathy for his pecuniary troubles by his bold, but scarcely successful, attempt to show that if he could only come by his own, he is still the lawful Sovereign of the Punjab.

Chapter
XV.
1856-86.

"The Times," Friday, Sept. 8th, 1882.

THE CLAIMS OF THE MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

TO THE EDITOR OF *"The Times."*

SIR,

As your leading article of Thursday, the 31st ult., commenting on my letter of the 28th, which you were so good as to publish, contains many inaccuracies as to matters of fact, which no one, perhaps, can correct so precisely as myself, I trust you will allow me to do so, and to make a few observations.

(1) You say: "All that he has hitherto succeeded in obtaining from the Indian Government, is an arrangement, lately sanctioned by Act of Parliament, whereby he will receive an addition of £2,000 to his annual income, on condition that his estates are sold at his death, in order to liquidate his liabilities, and provide

Chapter for his widow and children. It is really against this arrangement
XV. that the Maharajah appeals."

1856-86. I do not "really appeal" against the above arrangement, but what I do certainly think unjust in it is, that I am not permitted to repay, during my life, the loan which is to be made under it—£16,000 having already been advanced to me—and that I am thus forbidden to preserve, by a personal sacrifice, their English home to my descendants. In April last I sent a cheque for £3,542 14s., representing capital and compound interest at the rate of five per cent. to the India Office, but it was returned to me.

My widow and children, should I leave any, were already provided for, under arrangements which existed before this Act was passed.

(2) With reference to your quotation from the British Commissioner, as to my "alacrity" in signing the terms, I have simply to say that, being then a child, I did not understand what I was signing.

(3) "Moreover" you say, "the plea that the Maharajah was a minor, and, therefore, not a free agent, is fatal to his own case; he was two years younger when the Bhyrowal Treaty was signed, and younger still when the settlement of Lord Hardinge replaced him on the throne, and restored to him the sovereignty which he even now acknowledges, might at that time have been rightly forfeited. We do not dwell on this point, however. The Maharajah himself would hardly press it."

But, whether it is fatal to my case or not, I *do* press it, and maintain that after the ratification of the Bhyrowal Treaty, I was a *ward of the British nation*, and that it was unjust on the part of the guardian to deprive me of my kingdom, in consequence of a failure in the guardianship.

Here are Lord Hardinge's own words: "But, in addition to these considerations of a political nature, the Governor-General is bound to be guided by the obligations which the British Government has contracted when it consented to be the guardian of the

young Prince during his minority" (*vide* p. 49, "*Punjab Papers*," Chapter XV. 1847-49).

1856-86.

(4) "The Maharajah complains," you would say, "that he was deprived of his personal and private property—with insignificant exceptions—and of the rentals of his landed estates. There is, however, no mention of private property in the terms of the settlement accepted by the Maharajah; and a minute of Lord Dalhousie, recorded in 1855, explicitly states that at the time the Punjab was annexed, the youth had no territories, no lands, no property to which he could succeed." My reply is, that at the time of the annexation I had succeeded to territories, lands, and personal property, and was in possession, and these possessions were held in trust, and managed for me, under treaty, by the British Government.

That I had succeeded and was possessed of private estates in land, is an historical fact, and a matter of public records. Moreover, these estates had belonged to my family, one of them having being acquired by marriage, before my father attained to sovereignty. The statement in Lord Dalhousie's minute only amounts to denial of the existence of the sun by a blind man; and there are none so blind as those who will not see.

And now with regard to my alleged extravagance, these are the facts. The life stipend of £25,000 allotted to me, has to bear the following deductions:—(1) £5,664 interest, payable to the Government of India; (2) about £3,000 as premium on policies of insurance on my life, executed in order to add to the meagre provision made for my descendants by the British Government, and as security for the loan from my bankers; (3) £1,000 per annum for two pensions of £500 per annum each to the widows of the superintendent appointed by Lord Dalhousie to take charge of me after the annexation, and of my kind friend, the late controller of my establishment; besides which there is some £300 per annum payable in pensions to old servants in India.

In order to be able to receive h s Royal Highness the Prince of

Chapter XV. 1856-86. Wales, and to return the hospitality of men in my own position of life, and because I was advised and considered—not I think, unreasonably—that the rank granted to me by Her Majesty required it to be done, I expended some £22,000 (not £60,000, as you were informed) in alterations and repairs to the old house on this estate; suitable furniture cost £8,000 more.

At a cost of some £3,000, I have purchased life annuities, to be paid to the before-mentioned widow ladies, in case they should survive me.

About £8,000 more had to be borrowed from my bankers on mortgage, to complete the purchase of this estate, as the money lent me by the Government of India was insufficient by that amount. Thus, my debts amount to something like £44,000, of which £30,000 is covered by policies of insurance, £8,000 by mortgage, and the remainder amply secured by personal assets. Therefore, instead of my estates being heavily encumbered, my heirs, were I to die at this moment, would succeed to a house and furniture which are worth much more than £30,000, without any liability, besides some £70,000, secured by insurance on my life.

I think you are bound to acquit the Squire of Elveden of extravagance.

When the agricultural depression set in, I requested the Home Government to make an allowance that would enable me to maintain my position, and they kindly, after causing all the accounts to be examined, helped me with £10,000, but did not accuse me of extravagance. Subsequently, pending the consideration of my affairs, some £6,000 or £7,000 more was advanced to pay off pressing bills, as during that time I had not completed the arrangements for reducing my establishment. Out of the above loan about £10,000 was invested in live and dead stock on farms in hand, and would be forthcoming, if demanded, at a very short notice.

Thus the extravagance during my residence at Elveden is

reduced to the fabulous sum of some £12,000, and I possess enough personalty, beyond any question, to discharge debts to that amount, and some £6,000 more, should they exist at my death.

In common justice, therefore, Mr. Editor, I ask you to enable me to contradict, in as prominent a manner as they were brought forward in your most influential journal, the rumours as to my extravagance.

In the first paragraph of your leading article of Thursday, the 31st ult., you say, "that the claim now publicly preferred by the Maharajah has been disallowed after full consideration by successive Governments, both in India and this country." Yes, it is very easy to disallow a claim without hearing the real claimant.

The English law grants the accused the chance of proving himself not guilty; but I am condemned unheard: is this just?

I remain, Sir, your most obliged,

DULEEP SINGH.

Elveden Hall, Thetford, Suffolk,
Sept. 6th, 1882.

The Maharajah then, finding no notice taken of his appeal, devoted himself to compiling, with the assistance of his solicitor, a book which was published in June, 1884, "for the information of his friends, and to disabuse their minds of any prejudice which may have arisen from what appeared in print about a year ago."

The following extracts from the above-mentioned

Chapter XV. 1856-86. book will give the situation from the Maharajah's point of view :—

By the Treaty of Bhyrowal, in December, 1846, the British Government became the guardian of the infant Prince, and caused his mother to be removed from his vicinity, on account of the influence she was likely to exert over him, and her well-known character for intrigue.

In 1849 the Treaty of Lahore put an end to the Protectorate, but by it the British Government entered into an engagement with the Maharajah to pay him a pension, and took entire charge of his person, exercising a full control over his movements, expenditure, education, and associates, appointing Dr. Login as superintendent under the direction of the Governor-General.

They also undertook the administration of his pension, fixing the amount to be paid to him, to his relatives and dependants, as it was certainly necessary for some one to act for him in this matter until he came of age.

There was a further complication in the matter.

The Government, as is known, in 1849, took possession of all the property of the Maharajah, both in lands and money. The Treaty gave them all the *State property*, therefore, they became trustees for the Maharajah as to his private property. Disputes have since arisen how much, and which portions of the property are of one kind, and how much, and which portions, are of the other kind—and there is also a difference of opinion about the *duration* of the entire pension under the words of the Treaty—so that there are several points of conflict between the Government and its ward.

The Government claims to be the sole arbiter on these conflicting questions, and hitherto has uniformly decided them in its own favour, never rendering any account of its stewardship. Between private individuals, a Chancery judge would interfere, and would appoint trustees, &c., and investigate the case before deciding it; in the meantime, the funds would be secured, and set aside at interest, for the benefit of the successful party in the litigation.

In this case, however, the Government has remained master of the situation. The Maharajah has been advised that the courts of law are, in all probability, powerless to decide between him and the Government, and the latter keeps possession.

It will be interesting here to insert the views of the Government, as embodied in minutes by Lord Dalhousie in 1856, and by Sir Charles Wood in 1860.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S *Minute*.

When the Maharajah quitted India, the object which the Superintendent had in view, was to obtain for His Highness a grant of land in the Eastern Dhoon, near Deyrali, with the expectation, I presume, that the Maharajah would live at Mussoorie during the hot season, as he had been in the habit of doing; and would occupy himself, and interest himself, in the cultivation and improvement of the estate which was to be granted to him.

The Superintendent appeared to be under the impression that the Maharajah himself very strongly desired the settlement of his future position. It seemed to me very unlikely that a boy of his years would have a strong feeling of any kind on such a subject, and quite certain that he could not as yet know his own mind.

Chapter XV. In correspondence with Dr. Login since the Maharajah has resided in England, I have learned that upon being further questioned upon the subject, His Highness did not seem to desire an estate at all, but preferred a money stipend, and spoke as if he were under the impression that the four lakhs which were mentioned in the paper of terms, and which were granted on the annexation of the Punjab, would all ultimately lapse to him. The view which was taken by His Highness of this subject was entirely erroneous.

The terms granted did not secure to the Maharajah four lakhs, out of which His Highness was to grant pensions to relatives and followers, which, on the death of the recipients, were to revert to the Maharajah. The terms simply set apart four lakhs of rupees at the time of the annexation, as provision for the Maharajah, for the members of his family, and the servants of the State.

MINUTE OF THE COUNCIL OF INDIA.

By SIR CHARLES WOOD, K.C.B. *March 21st, 1860.*

At the close of the second Sikh war, it was determined to annex the Punjab to British territory, and to put an end to the separate Khālsa Government of the Sikhs. The form in which the arrangement for this purpose was recorded, was a paper of terms granted and accepted at Lahore in 1849, and notified by the Governor-General.

The provisions in favour of the Maharajah are contained in the 4th and 5th Articles of those terms (the first three all being declaratory of the surrender). as follows :—

“4th. His Highness Duleep Singh shall receive from the Honourable East India Company, for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the state, a pension not less than

four, and not exceeding five, lakhs of Company's rupees per annum.

Chapter
XV.
1856-86.

"5th. His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour. He shall retain the title of Maharajah Duleep Singh Bahadoor; and he shall continue to receive, during his life, such portion of the above-named pension as may be allowed to himself personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government, and reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select."

The terms were signed by the young Maharajah, and by six of the principal Sirdars and people of his court.

The first question is, what are the Maharajah's rights under the two articles, and what are the obligations which the Government of India came under towards him personally?

It is clear that, being a minor, required to live where the Governor-General might determine, he was not intended to be the recipient of the "pension not less than four, and not exceeding five, lakhs of Company's rupees per annum," which was to form the provision for "himself, his relatives," and "the servants of the State."

This Article, though using his name as the head of the State at the time the announcement was made, must be construed with the following Article, which provides that "he shall continue to receive, during his life, such portion of the above-named *pension* as may be allotted to himself personally," under the condition of good behaviour.

The personal claim of the Maharajah is here limited to the receipt, for his life, of his *personal* stipend; and the amount to be allotted to him was left entirely to the Government of India.

During the first years of the Maharajah's minority the annual sum allotted for his personal allowance was 120,000 rupees per annum. It was afterwards increased to 150,000 per annum; the increase taking effect from the date of his attaining the age of eighteen.

Chapter XV. The Indian Government recommended that, on his attaining the age of twenty-one, £25,000 should be allotted as his personal allowance. This sum, together with the present sums allotted to the other recipients of allowances, under the 4th Article, will exceed the the amount of four lakhs.

1856-86.

Some of these allowances will necessarily fall in sooner or later ; and the amount of allowances will again be reduced below four lakhs.

A question may arise as to the obligations under the terms of 1849, as to the disposal of any such annual sums falling in.

The Maharajah seems to expect that he may be considered entitled to benefit from such lapses. But this claim has been distinctly negatived by Lord Dalhousie, who cannot be mistaken as to the meaning of the terms which he granted ; and the provision that the Maharajah shall only receive what may be specially allotted to him, is so clear in the 5th Article, that he can evidently have no right to any increase of his stipend consequently.

It is evident that the portion of the pension allotted to others can only be for their respective lives.

The provision in the Maharajah's favour is only for life. This is expressly provided for.

It cannot be supposed that the allowances to be assigned to the other persons were for any other term than that assigned for the Maharajah's, namely, for their respective lives. The only other possible construction of the terms would be, that the allowances of the other parties were to be for the period of the Maharajah's life.

But it would be an absurdity to suppose because the 4th Article uses the Maharajah's name as the recipient of the entire provision, that the pensions assigned to other members of the family and State servants would at once have ceased if the Maharajah had happened to die during his minority. All of them, like the personal stipend of the Maharajah, must be regarded as assured life stipends, but not extending beyond life.

The amount, therefore, of any stipends so falling in hereafter, Chapter
must, according to the terms of 1849, fall in to the British XV.
Government. 1856-86.

There is no doubt, however, but that, up to the present time, the difference between the sums allotted to the Maharajah, his relatives, and the servants of the State, and the amount of four lakhs, which was the smallest sum which it was provided that the British Government should apply to the purposes mentioned, has not been so expended. What the amount of such accumulation is we have no means of ascertaining in England; but it is understood that there may be a balance of between £150,000 and £200,000.

The Maharajah supposes he is entitled to claim this as payable to himself personally; first, because the 4th Article of the terms of 1849 uses his name as recipient of the whole four lakhs; and secondly, because he alleges that the balance is composed mainly, if not entirely, of short payments to himself, of what he considers to have been due to him during his minority.

The simple answer to this claim is afforded by the 5th Article, which specifically provides that he is only to receive the "portion of the above-named pension" that might be allotted to "himself personally," and the Government of India might allot to him whatever sum it thought proper, as it might in a like manner to the other persons referred to in the 4th Article. Any part of the £40,000 per annum which has not been allotted, and has accumulated in the Treasury of the British Government, is at their disposal; but they are bound to apply it for the purposes stated in the terms of 1849.

It is a fair question, however, what is the best method of disposing of any balance that the British Government has now in its hands, and which it is under obligation to spend for the benefit of these parties; and it would certainly seem that the most appropriate disposition will be to make a provision for the families of the life stipendiaries.

Chapter XV. 1856-86. It is to be observed that it is the practice in India, in dealing with political stipendiaries, to leave the provision for the family to be settled after the stipendiary's decease, and not to place it in the hands of the annuitant.

The Maharajah has felt the precarious position in which any family which he might leave would be placed in this respect, and has asked us to give him security on this point.

The Committee of the Council proposed a scheme on this especial point, namely, that a sum should be capitalized, sufficient to produce an annual sum of £10,000 per annum, as a permanent income after his death for his widow and any children he might leave.

The Maharajah has asked for permission to bequeath this amount to some public purpose for the Punjab, in case he should die childless; but to this the Committee have refused to accede.

By the terms of 1849, as already shown, the Maharajah is only entitled to receive for life such sum as may be allotted to him.

The Committee, however, were most willing to remove his natural anxiety, by enabling him to make a liberal provision for his wife and children after his death.

But they could not consistently with their sense of duty place at his disposal, by will, any funds for any other purpose. If funds should be available for public purposes, their application must rest with the Government.

The Committee further said that, if the Maharajah should prefer to receive at once such a proportion of the present accumulation as the Government of India may consider it proper to grant to him, with reference to the claims of all others interested, there can be no objection to that amount being paid to him down, leaving him to make his own arrangements for his family, which, in that case, would have no claim to look to the Government for any further provision after his decease. If the Maharajah prefers this to the offer of capitalizing a sum producing £10,000 per

annum as a trust-fund, for the benefit of his family, the case will be referred to the Governor-General of India, desiring him to ascertain what the real balance of unappropriated "pension" payable under the 4th Article of the Terms of 1849 now is-- and also to determine the proportion of that balance which may fairly be assigned to the Maharajah. This is strictly conformable with those terms. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

The Council of India are of opinion that the proposal to capitalize the proportion of the stipend of £25,000 per annum, *i.e.*, £10,000 per annum, as a trust provision for his family, is the most beneficial arrangement for the Maharajah. They will, however, willingly accede to whichever of these arrangements he may prefer.

On the foregoing the Maharajah's remarks :—

The reader will see that the Government is of opinion that it is under no obligation to give, during the Maharajah's life, any larger pension than it may choose to allow, nor to give any pension to his family after his death.

The Maharajah does not agree to this as a true interpretation of the Treaty, nor, we think, would ordinary minds come to that conclusion.

It is admitted that the pension is not entirely to cease with the life of the Maharajah, but as to certain portions, it is to be continued after his death for certain purposes. It is also stated that the name of the Maharajah is used in the 4th Article of the Treaty, not in his individual capacity, but as "head of the State."

This reading favours the construction for which the Maharajah contends, *viz.*, that the pension was to be hereditary, and that any forfeiture that he might incur would not prejudice the rights of his children.

Chapter XV. The Maharajah does not believe that it could have been intended to confine his compensation to a mere life pension in exchange for an hereditary estate of not less than two millions sterling per annum, which increases constantly with the prosperity of the country.

1856-86.

At all events, the interpretation put upon the Treaty by the Government is so unfavourable to the Maharajah, and to his posterity, and so different from what, we venture to say, an ordinary reader would gather from its perusal—so different from what must have been understood by the assembled chiefs in 1849, when they heard it read by Sir Henry Elliot—that, if correct, it requires some more impartial sanction and confirmation than that of a Government department to render it acceptable or satisfactory to the Maharajah.

If it were really intended after the Treaty to leave the Maharajah and his descendants entirely at the mercy of the British Government; if the Government also intended to absorb all his personal and private property, as well as to deprive him of his personal freedom, why ask him to sign any treaty at all? He and his were in the power of the British Government and army, who might have disposed of both at pleasure.

We cannot think that the India Office have rightly interpreted either the language or the spirit of the Treaty; but we unhesitatingly say that, if the Treaty does mean what Sir Charles Wood stated in his memorandum, it is a document which must excite feelings of just indignation in every honest mind.

As a consequence of its interpretations, as explained above, the Maharajah has never had what he considers to be the full benefit of the Treaty of 1849; and, moreover, he has, under cover of the Treaty, been deprived of private property and lands which it did not profess to confiscate.

Taking a lakh of rupees to be equal to £10,000, the pension would be between £40,000 and £50,000 (say £45,000).

The payments actually made to the Maharajah are as follows:—

From 1849 to 1856	£12,000 per annum.	Chapter XV. 1856-86.
„ 1856 to 1858	£15,000 „	
„ 1858 onwards	£25,000 „	

Besides these payments, allowances to relatives and dependants to the extent of £18,000 per annum at the commencement (1849) which were reduced to £15,000 in 1859 have been made. These allowances have rapidly dwindled into a very small sum, if indeed they have not vanished altogether.

In 1859 about £100,000 was the aggregate saving of the Government on the four lakhs.

In 1862 the Government provided a sum of £105,000 (which probably was the exact amount saved, but they endeavoured to make it appear as a voluntary provision made by them), for the purchase of an estate, to be settled on the Maharajah and his issue, also empowering him to bequeath to his legitimate offspring a sum of four per cent. India Capital Stock, to be provided by Government, this amount to be sufficient to yield an income of £7,000 per annum, subsequently increased to £10,800 per annum.

Between 1862 and 1882 the Government advanced the sum of £198,000, charged on the India Capital Stock, and (in the event of his leaving no issue) on the Suffolk estates.

Of this, £60,000 was lent free of interest, the remainder, £138,000, was part at four per cent., and part at five per cent., the terms being precisely what could have been obtained from any insurance office in the City of London.

The Government, however, agreed to pay half the premiums on policies of insurance for £100,000 on the Maharajah's life (the Maharajah bearing the other half, in respect of which the Government now deduct £1,575 annually from his allowance).

But the additional price exacted for these advances was, that the mansion and all the Suffolk estates, whether bought with the £105,000 (specially provided for the purchase of a family

Chapter estate), or with the loans raised from Government, or with the XV. Maharajah's own money, shall be sold at the Maharajah's 1856-86. death. Thus the Government have rendered futile the prospect of landed proprietorship for the Maharajah's heirs.

The money result in the year 1884 to the Maharajah of these operations is roughly as follows :—

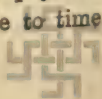
Annual pension from Government	...	£25,000
Deductions by Government :—		
For interest per annum	...	£5,664
For premiums of insurance	...	1,575
		<hr/>
		7,239
Net sum received by the Maharajah from Government per annum.		<hr/>
		£17,761

The Maharajah complains that the payments made to him are not in fulfilment of the stipulations of the Treaty. He considers that under the Treaty he ought, after he was of age, to have received the full pension himself paying out the allowances to his relatives and dependants.

If this be correct, the Government have withheld from him sums which, it is calculated, must amount to more than the whole of their advances to him, although the figures of the account have not been furnished by Government.

As to the £105,000 paid him in 1862, if it does, in fact, represent, as he believes, the aggregate amount of sums withheld up to 1859 (calculating his pension at the minimum of four lakhs only), it does not include interest on those accumulations.

It seems hard to the Maharajah, under these circumstances, to be paying large sums of interest every year to the Government, whom he believes to be his debtors; and he hopes, that if ever they should pay him his accumulations, they will pay him back interest on the sums which they have, from time to time, retained, and withheld from his use.



The following is the provision for the widow and children of the Maharajah :—

Chapter
XV.
1856-86.

Value of Suffolk estates (say)	£200,000
Insurance moneys	100,000
£72,000 East India Stock	72,000
	<hr/>
Total provision	£372,000

This realized at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would give an income of £13,000, to be divided amongst his widow and children.

We have already stated that the Maharajah contends that the original pension of £45,000 per annum is in its nature *hereditary*, and ought to be continued undiminished after his death to his descendants.

The revenues of the Punjab are not dependent on the tenure of a life, nor do they diminish year by year; and the pension awarded by the Treaty of 1849 should most certainly be regarded as a first charge on those revenues.

From another part of the same book other extracts are supplied, which show how anxious the Maharajah was to have his affairs settled by arbitration.

Extract from work published by the MAHARAJAH, entitled, "The Maharajah Duleep Singh and the Government."

How stands the case between the British Government and the Maharajah?

It was thought expedient (it could not be just or right) to annex his kingdom.

To take care of his private estates and property, and to restore

Chapter XV. 1856-86. them undiminished to him when of age, was the bounden duty of the new Governors of the country, under the circumstances, even had they not been the personal guardians of the boy.

Nevertheless, these estates and property have been appropriated, without apparently a question, or the slightest hesitation on the part of the distinguished and accomplished persons who, from time to time, have constituted the Government of the Punjab, under the new *régime*.

The whole has been treated as if it had been spoil of war.

These estates, as we know, were untouched by the Treaty; but how have we acted towards the Maharajah in our fulfilment of the terms stipulated for by that Treaty?

The Government has explained away all the provision apparently intended to be secured to the Maharajah, and assured him that, although one clause in it tells him that he is to receive between £40,000 and £50,000 per annum, the next clause, if properly understood, according to official interpretation, entirely takes away such right, and leaves him at the absolute mercy of the Government, to give as much or as little as they please.

Lord Lawrence, in reference to another Indian prince (who was not a British ward), says:—

The question "whether in dealing with an Asiatic ruler, like Shere Ali, the common rules of European international law have any application whatever," is again passed over.

I affirm that it should not so be treated. If international law has no application in this case, then what is the law or principle on which the cause between Shere Ali and ourselves is to be tried. *Are we to be the judges in our own cause?* Are we to decide in accordance with our own interests? Is this an answer which Englishmen will give in so grave a matter?

In another place Lord Lawrence justly observes:—

Statesmen should never forget that the real foundations of our power in India do not rest on the interested approval of a noisy few. *They rest on justice,*

on the contentment of the millions, who may not always be silent and quiescent, and on their feeling that in spite of the selfish clamour of those who profess to be their guardians and representatives, they may place *implicit trust in the equal justice of our Government*, and in its watchful care of the interests of the masses of the people. Chapter XV. 1856-86.

Here we have to do with a treaty and a series of transactions, one party to which is the British Government in its own right, and the other party is the ward of the same British Government.

In the one capacity the British Government want to escape from paying more, or giving up more, than they can help; in the other capacity it has always been their duty, as guardians and trustees, to uphold the interests of the Maharajah, and claim and recover for him all he could fairly demand, from whomsoever it might be.

The Maharajah accuses the Government of having allowed its attention to the interests of the department to interfere with its duty to his interests, and refuses to be satisfied with the correctness of its decision between those interests.

Is it impossible in such a case to provide some impartial tribunal, such as might carry conviction to a reasonable mind that injustice had not been done by irresponsible power? Are there no eminent lawyers of judicial rank whose services might be engaged to hear and decide the conflicting claims?

Or must the nation bear the reproach of its Government, insisting on being judges in its own cause, to the neglect of those sacred principles which Lord Lawrence terms the "foundation of our power in India?"

While the Maharajah was engaged in compiling the book from which the foregoing has been quoted, he had also sent out to India an agent from the firm of Messrs. Farrer & Co., his solicitors, with instruc-

Chapter tions to examine the records of the Punjab, with a
XV. view to establishing the Maharajah's claims on certain
1856-86. private estates.

Shortly after his agent's return, the Maharajah addressed a letter to Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India (March, 1885), forwarding a statement of private estates, claimed by him as inherited from Runjeet Singh, a Sirdar of the Punjab, and his predecessors, concluding the letter as follows :—

Your Lordship by this time is fully aware that unless the British Government is prepared to accord me speedily some measure of justice, I shall be compelled to abandon permanently my landed estates and position in England, as I am unable adequately to maintain either with the means now accorded to me; in which case, the moderate and legitimate expectations with which I was induced to settle in this country must be utterly disappointed, and I myself and my family be reduced to a state inferior to that of many of the subjects of the State of which I was the Sovereign when my country was annexed by the British Government.

The subjoined statement is the result of a careful inquiry made by the Maharajah's agent in several districts of the Punjab. No estates have been claimed as private property that came into the possession of Runjeet Singh subsequent to the year 1800, that being the year in which he attained to the sovereignty of the Punjab.

Estates claimed by Duleep Singh as private property (of which some part have been in the possession of his family from the time of Nodh Singh, his great-great-grandfather) :—

Chapter
XV.
1856-86.

In the districts of—

Goojranwala ..61 villages; of which 33 were left by Churrut Singh.

Goojrat ...10 „ „ 6 „ „ „ „

Jhelum ...55 „ „ all „ „ „ „

(Including the salt-mines
of Pind Dadur Khan.)

Sealkote ...18 villages; „ 9 „ „ „ „

Goordaspore... 6 „ „ all „ „ Maha Singh.

Amritsar ... 2 „ left by Nodh Singh.

The remainder of the above were left by Maha Singh, others being acquired by Runjeet Singh.

The annual value of the above villages is Rs.2,04,99, £20,499.

The revenue of the salt mines is now about forty lakhs. (1869.—Rs.44,91,458=£449,145.) In Sikh times said to be under six lakhs.*

The inquiry does not extend all over the Punjab. There are known to be other villages belonging to Churrut Singh, especially about Rawul Pindee.

No reference is here made to the claims of the Maharajah to the intestate estates of deceased relatives, many of whom are known to have died since the date of annexation.

* See ante, p. 99.

While the question of the Maharajah's claims to private property is under consideration; it may be well to enter here a valuation of the personal property pillaged at Futtehghur during the Mutiny. This return was made out by Sir John Login, and sent in to the Indian Office at the time that compensation claims were called for.

Value of property pillaged at Futtehghur.

	RUPEES.
Land and houses purchased by His Highness... ..	93,014
Furniture and fittings of all descriptions, including table-furniture, plate, glass, and crockery	74,403
Tent equipage made at Futtehghur	10,765
Farrash Khana property, consisting of Cashmere tents, carpets, Muslunda quilts, chogas, elephant jhools, &c. ...	20,000
	198,182

In compensation for this claim, the British Government offered £3,000, which the Maharajah refused to accept, considering the proposition an insult.

The Government has never accounted to the Maharajah for the money received for the sale [of the house, nor has he received anything in respect of the value of the land, though the papers show that the whole was purchased out of his money, nor any compensation in respect of the contents of the house, which were destroyed at the Mutiny.

Such then is the position of the Maharajah Duleep Singh with the British Government.

Chapter
XV.
1856-86.

For upwards of thirty years has he been at issue with them on various points, small questions no doubt at first, which would have instantly disappeared had the recommendations of Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie been adopted ; but which, as time went on, became more and more of vital importance to the Maharajah, and, in a corresponding ratio, less and less interesting to the officials who had to deal with the case, as they had no hand in the original Treaty.

Is he, therefore, entirely to blame for his present attitude towards the British nation ?

If no excuse can be found for *him*, are the children to suffer for the sins of the father ?

FINIS.



APPENDIX.

I.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO MR. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P., ON THE
POLICY OF OUR RULE IN INDIA.

(In reply to one of his dated September 1st, 1857.)

Sept. 1857.

MY DEAR MR. BRIGHT,

. . . . The intelligence from India continues to be indeed most painful, and full of atrocities and treachery, although certainly not causing more apprehension or anxiety, as to the final result, than it did at first. That we should have been able to maintain our ground so well against such odds, could never have been anticipated by the mutineers; and when they hear of the successive arrivals of ships from England with reinforcements, before they have succeeded in establishing civil power in a single district, we may have reason to hope their treacherous, cowardly hearts will quail within them through fear.

No one who has had opportunity of seeing Mahomedans (and Hindoos) in countries to which our influence had not extended, is much surprised at atrocities which are not very uncommon among them, and although the dread of consequences under our rule has prevented the exercise of such revolting cruelties, there is scarcely a man, woman, or child among them, to whose imagination they are not perfectly familiar, and, except by those

whom education has enlightened, who does not consider them to be perfectly justifiable, if not praiseworthy, against "Kafirs," such as we are! This revolt has torn the veil from Hindooism and Mahomedanism, and shown them in their true colours.

I am quite as anxious as you can be, that we should bring no discredit on the Christian name by the manner in which we make these miserable wretches atone for their appalling atrocities. Of all that can be proved to have been ringleaders in the revolt, we have no alternative than to make a most fearful example. But those who have taken a lead in these atrocities are, I believe, few in comparison with the multitudes who have been led astray by them, and for whose ignorance we are, to a certain extent, responsible.

Whenever we are again in a position to enforce order, and to bring the guilty to punishment, we need be under no difficulties, however numerous they may be. With so many railroads to make in India, on which convict labour can be made useful, so many settlements and colonies within the tropics, such as Pegu, Mauritius and the West India Islands, where a labouring population is required, so many ships available to convey them, and with a sincere desire to remove the ignorance and superstition which have caused such atrocities, we may confidently hope that, with God's help, we shall yet be able to "overcome evil with good."

The manner in which our countrymen have been led to carry out the sentence of death upon these mutineers, with a view to make their executions more impressive upon the natives that witness them, is certainly most distressing, and I deeply deplore it; but if it has the effect of deterring others from such crimes, and depriving the criminals of that bravado which leads them to rush to the halter prepared for them and die as martyrs, I cannot find fault with it; for, however revolting, it is not more cruel or less instantaneous than any other mode, nor am I apprehensive that it will have the effect you suppose of "rousing revengeful feelings which time can never heal." The people of India consider us to be perfectly justified in thus punishing men guilty of such atrocities against us, knowing from the general leniency of our punishments hitherto that we have only been driven to them by their treachery; and if we can only succeed in putting down the

mutiny, and re-establishing our power firmly, I should have no more apprehension of going unarmed among the very sons of these men in their villages than I ever had.

In truth, with this, as in other things, we are obliged often to act in opposition to our right feelings, and in a manner which would be most unjustifiable among a people less barbarous in heart, in order to give that impression of our power and energy which is necessary to enable us to do any good among them, and to raise them out of that debasing superstition and ignorance which is the fruitful source of all these atrocities.

In the same way, I am quite prepared to make more allowances for such men as Clive, Warren Hastings, and others of our countrymen in India than you do, for being carried away by their successes (among a people who held their possessions by the sword) to acts and results which, to our settled notions of rights of property for so many centuries, appear most extravagant and oppressive; and I am very certain that even at this present moment—after we have, by the strength of our Government for the last fifty years, given a security to individual rights unknown before—there is not a single native of India who has read or heard of Clive or Warren Hastings, who attaches that discredit to their proceedings which Englishmen do. It is very true that you may have been in the way of hearing natives of India profess very high-flown sentiments on these points, as it suited their individual interests to do so; but I am very much mistaken, after twenty-five years' experience of them, and among such men as Lord Metcalfe, Mr. Thomason, and many others (who knew them better than I can pretend to do), if there is a single one who, in circumstances like Clive, Warren Hastings, and other Englishmen, would have shown half their moderation.

We must never forget that public opinion among natives of India generally is in many respects not further advanced than it was in England during the Heptarchy (certainly *not* so far in its religious basis), and that our ideas of individual rights and abstract justice are comparatively new to them, and can with difficulty be adapted to their minds. They are making progress, no doubt, and that very rapidly; and another fifty years of our rule, and the security enjoyed under it, will bring them well up to us, if we do our duty.



But, dear Mr. Bright, instead of giving much thought to the misdeeds of our predecessors in India—the cruelties of which I am sure you exaggerate greatly, and which I am very confident are not considered so bad by Asiatics as by ourselves, and cause but little ill-will towards us—I am anxious that you should turn your attention to *existing* evils, with a view to remove them. If the present state of India is a just judgment upon us, it is not so much for the misdeeds of the past century, as for the present neglect of duty and want of confidence in the right policy we should pursue.

Through the blessing of God, we have been placed in India in a position of the highest influence and responsibility.

We had an army of nearly 300,000 men, composed of Hindoos and Mahomedans, the most ignorant, most bigoted, and most superstitious of any class in India. We have had opportunities, no one can deny, of removing much of that ignorance, bigotry, and superstition by introducing education among them, without causing the least alarm for their religion (caste); and there are many who think that they were open to religious instruction without endangering our influence over them in the smallest degree. Instead, however, of our doing anything to enlighten them, as it was our duty to do, we have pampered them in all their ignorant superstitions; flattered them into a belief that as soldiers they were quite equal to ourselves, and instructed them only through the drill-sergeant. Is it to be wondered at that they should think we held India only by their sufferance, and that they should attempt to wrest it from us?

Our successes in India have placed many of the princes and chief sin our power, with all their families and dependants; many of them receiving pensions greater than the revenues of some independent states in Europe. We have had influence sufficient to induce them to educate their children, at least, in secular knowledge, and to show them the world as it now exists; but we have not done so; we have been satisfied to let them live in that state of sensuality natural to them, to indulge in dreams of their former greatness, surrounded by sycophants and slaves, and to be instructed only by the most bigoted of their creed, until, like the old Mogul and his family, and the atrocious Nana Sahib, we have prepared them fitly for the position they have assumed.

As the Paramount State in India for the last fifty years, we had the "right of presentation" (according to established practice under the Delhi emperors, and which the present puppet of the mutineers will, no doubt, affect to assume) to almost all the minor principalities in India, and, as such, the right of placing whom we pleased to rule over them, if we thought fit to do so.

During the reigns of the great emperors of Delhi to the time of Arungzebe (Alumgheer) this right was almost uniformly acted upon, and these petty *musnuds* were given away by them as readily as a *kardarship*, or *jagheer*, in the Punjab, by old Runjeet Singh, a few years since. The right of a son to succeed his father was never dreamed of, although it most frequently happened that a son was considered by the Emperor and his courtiers to be the fittest man for it, and could afford to pay the handsomest *nuzzur* on accession; in which case, he was, of course, preferred, and the grant and dress of honour sent to him, when he was considered by his subjects to be duly installed.

Of course, when the Emperor thought he could more conveniently and profitably hold the province under his own officials, he did so, receiving the revenues into his own treasury, and paying the functionaries himself, instead of giving out the province and the people on lease!

When the power of the Delhi emperors declined, princes and chiefs who had these *soubahs* and minor states naturally endeavoured to transmit them to their sons, and, in most cases, succeeded; but they never felt themselves secure in their position until they received a *sumnud* from the Delhi Emperor, even when a captive in the Mahratta camp.

When the success of our arms in the upper provinces of India placed the representative of the Mogul emperors in our hands, he transferred all his regal rights to our Government, on certain conditions, which have by us been faithfully fulfilled; and, although the East India Company (in deference, I believe, to public opinion in England, which considered such rights to be nothing more valuable than the claim of our Sovereign to the Crown of France) have not exercised those rights to their full extent, they had, in case of failure of direct heirs to such states, as they have them-

selves re-established, very properly acted upon this principle, leaving, however, personal property to the families of deceased princes, with pensions suitable to their wants.

Having, however, adopted so much of these rights as was convenient, they ought not to have neglected other responsibilities attached to their position, as they undoubtedly have done, viz., the duty of ascertaining and ensuring the proper qualifications of rulers succeeding, under their auspices, to the government of the subordinate states, and thus affording proper protection to the interests of their subjects.

Had the Government of India done their duty in this respect, and taken measures for the proper education and instruction of every young prince in India, over whom they had such right of influence, I doubt not that, ere this, we should have seen many native states much more advanced than they are in order and good government.

There is yet another point over which, I think, the East India Company have been greatly led astray, and of which the present position of India shows the extreme danger.

The policy of the Indian Government has, I believe, not intentionally, but not the less certainly, given encouragement to military employment far beyond its proper bounds; and I am convinced that, under a better system, there need not have been more than one-third the present number of native soldiers in India withdrawn from peaceful occupations.

So long as we had large native states, with their numerous armies, to oppose us, it was necessary for us not only to employ as many Sepoys as we could afford for our own defence, but to prevent them enlisting, under native princes, against us; but when the success of our arms had reduced the power of the native chiefs, and forced them to accept our terms—instead of attempting to reduce the military population of each state, as might often have been done, by disarming them, and in cases where we undertook their external defence, permitting no greater number of troops to be entertained by the chief than was necessary as personal guard, and for civil duties—our Government has been led by influences of various kinds to insist rather upon the organization of large contingents, to be officered by our army and paid by the subject state, leaving the chief very often to use his

own discretion as to the number of troops he should retain in his service, or at least taking little account of them.

As these contingents are perfect thorns in the sides of native potentates, and a constant source of ill-will and apprehension, obliging them often to keep up more troops than they would otherwise have done, it cannot be doubted that had the necessity or expediency of reducing military employment been sufficiently impressed upon our Government, this end might have been easily attained by insisting on disarming when we had the power, taking notice of the smallest infraction of the Treaty as to the number of troops to be employed, and requiring the payment of a small amount as tribute, in money, or produce, or the assignment of a district, to defray the expense of any addition which might be required to our own army for the external defence of the country.

It may perhaps serve to illustrate the extent to which native princes are sometimes permitted to increase the number of troops in their pay for the civil duties of the country, if I remark that the ruler of Oude in 1801 was limited by Lord Wellesley to the employment of seven or eight thousand men, but had up to 1848 been allowed to increase that number gradually to 55,000! We need not therefore wonder that Oude has been considered so long our nursery for Sepoys!

I could also say something on our "temporizing policy," in endowing their temples and mosques instead of boldly telling them that, as Christians, we can have nothing to do with them, but I have said enough, and must go on to another subject.

Had I not been aware of your sentiments, so well expressed in your letter to the electors of Birmingham, that to "restore order to India is mercy to India," I should have felt alarmed at the thought being entertained that "the loss of India would not ruin England, although the cost of keeping and the effort may;" but when I know that your remark does not refer to the present, but to some future time, when our rule can only be maintained there against the wishes of the people, by military power, and at a cost of English blood and treasure exceeding its benefits to the country and to India, I can readily acknowledge its propriety.

If I could not look forward to the time when we shall rule

India by other influences than mere military force, I should be disposed at once, after the revolt has been sufficiently suppressed and order restored, to select native rulers apparently best able to hold the ground in each of our provinces, endeavour to strengthen their position, enter into commercial relations with them, and leave them to govern their people in the way best adapted to their circumstances.

But however much in the opinion of many who judge of the Government of India only from an English point of view, a national insurrection was at any time to be expected against it, the present revolt has nothing of the dignity of that character. On the contrary, all our information tends to show that the people are by no means disaffected towards us, and would consider the loss of our government to be a great calamity.

The rebellion has not then the least spark of that patriotism in it which the natural feelings of free Englishmen are ready to admire, even when opposed to us, but as a mere impotent attempt of ignorant fanaticism, unfortunately fostered by ourselves, to stem the tide of advancing civilization.

Even amidst all the horrors of present anarchy, I can discern the dawns of a brighter intelligence, and of an influence likely to be more lasting than military rule, requiring only the fostering care of a powerful Government, and the security to individual rights (which recent events will teach our Indian subjects to appreciate) to be developed to its full extent, and to bind India to England in bonds of mutual interest and good-will.

With a better knowledge of the power and enterprise of England diffused among our fellow-subjects there, will arise the feeling that our national character and commercial energy are necessary to develop and promote their industrial wealth, and that the most productive country in the world, with a population so little able to find markets for themselves, must necessarily be dependent on the strongest and most enterprising of the maritime powers, and united to it in the bonds of self-interest.

But may we not entertain hopes of even a higher influence than these, and that with the extension of the Gospel message—which, as Christians, it is our duty to make known—stronger sympathies will be awakened between us, to bind us in a new relation, under the influence of which we may safely leave them

to govern themselves, without any misgivings as to the consequences?

With such a prospect before us, let us throw all doubts aside as to our policy towards India, and at once boldly undertake the responsibilities which Providence has entrusted to us, assured that if we do so in a right spirit, strength will be given to us to carry it out!

Although you have at least given as much consideration to the subject as I have, and applied the great abilities and judgment with which God has blessed you to devise a plan of government for India suited to its present wants, you may, nevertheless, accept a few suggestions I have to offer as to its organization, in the hope they may be useful.*

As the interests of the English nation in the government of India have now attained too great a magnitude to be entrusted to any other power than the Imperial Legislature, and as the East India Company's government has existed long enough to show that it has established an influence in India likely to be more lasting than military power, I think that it may retire from its responsibilities as soon as order has been restored, and with very much greater credit than you are perhaps prepared to concede to it. . . .

Believe me, dear Mr. Bright,

Yours sincerely,

J. S. LOGIN.

II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE ON THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BETWEEN SIR CHARLES PHIPPS AND SIR JOHN LOGIN, *July, 1857.*

The first of these papers opens with a defence of the civil administration of the country under the

* This is in reference to a scheme for the government of India, to which allusion will be made later.

Company's government, pointing to the fact that the people are more contented under it, and have enjoyed more peace and security, than under any other Government which ever existed there.

"I believe it to be equally true," says Sir John Login, "that with so much corruption and want of integrity on the part of the native officials, whom they are obliged to employ, and so much apathy (as to public measures), selfish avarice, and ignorance, on the part of the people, it would have been impossible for any Government to have done more for the civil administration of the country than has been done by them. I admit that they may have been urged on to activity in their civil administration by the frequent attacks made upon it in Parliament; but these attacks have been so often made by men who only see everything from an English point of view, and who are so manifestly ill-qualified to judge of the true state of matters, and so full of prejudice against the Company's government, that all the sympathies of old Indian officers are enlisted in favour of their old masters; and they are *averse* to *expose* the real defects of their rule, or to add in any way to their embarrassment. To those who have given consideration to the subject, it has been for some time sufficiently evident that the weak point in the Company's government has not been so much the civil as the military administration; but, strange to say, this has seldom been made the subject of attack in Parliament, and I am not aware that the reduction of strength of the native army in India has ever been proposed even by my friend Mr. Bright."

After alluding to the necessity which formerly existed for maintaining a much larger native army than was now required,* he continues:—"It was politic to conciliate these men to our discipline as far as possible, and to avoid every offence to caste prejudices. I fear that these attempts to conciliate were, in the early days of our rule, carried much beyond conscientious limits.

*See *ante*, letter to Mr. Bright, p. 556.

and to an extent which would not now be sanctioned by the lowest code of Christian morality. When the reduction of the Punjab removed the last independent native army from which any danger was to be apprehended the proper time would appear to have arrived for commencing to reduce the strength of our native army, and for increasing our European force." He then speaks of the fatal policy of making European troops dependent on native commissariat contractors, and of placing an arsenal like Delhi in sole charge of native troops. He gives his reasons for believing that "although several Bengal regiments have frequently shown an exacting spirit, and one or two have actually mutinied and been disbanded," yet no "real disaffection to the Government has existed among them until within a very recent period;" and then mentions the causes which, in his opinion, led to the Mutiny, and says, that providentially for us, the revolt broke out sooner than was intended by the ringleaders, and before the mutineers had concerted all their arrangements. As a medical officer he then remarks, that though the heat would be injurious to the European troops at that season, yet that during the excitement of active service they suffer less, or, at least, *quite as little*, as native troops (an opinion fully borne out by subsequent events). When order should be at length restored, and any hostile population disarmed, he suggests that a police corps, mounted and on foot, should be organized in every district, under English officers as magistrates; that European camps, fully equipped and able to take the field on the shortest notice, should be formed (say at Dehra, the Murree Hills, and Darjeeling for Northern India) with detachments to every magazine and dépôt; that good roads, with caravanserais at marching distances, should be made wherever railroads cannot be constructed; that men of high caste should not be *excluded* from enlisting, but should not be allowed to *preponderate* in the ranks, which should consist of a due proportion of men of every caste, and that there should be an admixture of Sikhs, Goorkhas, and Mahomedans in *every company*. Though this might cause more trouble to their officers in cantonments, there would be less risk of conspiracy, and their loyalty would be better ensured. All troops should be enlisted on the understanding that they were to be employed

beyond seas if required, or on fatigue duties as sappers and miners. He concludes with the suggestion that it might be advisable to attach one, or perhaps two, companies of Punjabi Mahomedans and hill-men to each European corps, to be commanded by the regimental officers; they would be useful, he says, in relieving Europeans from unnecessary exposure, and in training young officers for service with the native army.

This memorandum, and its accompanying letter, called forth the following response :—

OSBORNE, Aug. 7th, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Although overwhelmed with business, as you may suppose, during the visit of the Emperor and Empress, I must write one line to thank you again for your *most interesting* letters, and to beg you will continue to enlighten me upon Indian affairs, which, I know, that you understand better than most people. I am happy to hear that Burnand is supposed to have shown great energy and skill before Delhi, and I hope that he may have shown equal military skill in his attack upon the town itself, which seems, from the plan, to have a large, straggling, outside fortification, with a pretty strong citadel or palace.

What a blessing that the Maharajah was not in India at the time of this fearful outbreak. I cannot conceive a more distressing position than his would have been.

Have you ever turned in your mind what will be the best plan for the future formation of an efficient army in India?

Sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

In response to the concluding sentence in the above letter, Login prepared and presented to Sir Charles a

memorandum on the reorganization of the Indian army, of which we can only afford space to give the leading points.

This scheme provides for a large European force, an auxiliary native army, and a native military police; also for the formation of a staff corps, and the regulation of pay, promotion, and pensions, of both European and native officers in all branches of the service.

It commences with these words:—

“To place our military establishment in Bengal on a secure and efficient basis, after the suppression of the present revolt, it appears necessary—

(1) That we should possess a large European force, perfectly equipped, and ready for field service;

(2) An *auxiliary native army* of infantry and cavalry under English officers, sufficiently equipped to oppose successfully any Asiatic troops which can be brought against us, and—

(3) A native military police, mounted and on foot, under the command of English military officers, with magisterial powers, to be stationed in every district for support of civil authority.”

The European force in Bengal, North-West Provinces, and Punjab, were to be formed into three or more large camps in the neighbourhood of the hills, where the men could be employed in various ways throughout the day, even in the hot weather. The native troops were to be cantoned in detached regiments, and only brigaded in the cold weather for exercise. Each native regiment was to be complete in camp-equipage, but carriage was to be indented for, as was then the rule. The native military police were to form local stationary corps, distributed over the several *thannas*; large parties occupying the *serais* along the roads, and furnishing guards at the *chowkies*.

European officers who have not passed the examination in Urdu, or who are under twenty-one years of age, to be posted to European

portion of force; those who have passed such examinations, are above the age of twenty-one, and are acquainted with their military duties, may be posted to the native army.

A staff corps to be formed, from which the military staff, diplomatic, military police and civil departments were to be supplied.

Further, it appeared necessary :—

(1) To form an active and retired list of general and field officers as in the royal service. The retired list to include all general and field officers above the age of —, or those of younger age who may be unfit for active service in the field.

(2) To offer increase of pension to induce all officers above thirty-five years' service to retire at once with additional rank.

Promotion in the staff corps was to be somewhat less rapid than in the more military branch.

Young officers, on first joining, to be attached to European regiments for two years, then to be examined in native languages, regimental drills and exercises, &c., . . . and then posted to European or native corps or staff corps, according to qualifications. Those posted to native army to remain attached to European corps, till passed in Urdu, and otherwise fit to command in native regiments as lieutenants on the general list.

Officers of engineers, artillery, and staff corps to be classified in a *general* list.

Officers of European cavalry and infantry—*regimentally*, until field officers, then on a *general* list.

Officers of native cavalry and infantry—on a *general* list for army rank, but for duty in regiments, *regimentally*.

Officers of European cavalry and infantry to be allowed to take special appointments for a specified time, but afterwards to return to regimental duty, or else to enter staff corps, where promotion is less rapid.

Permission should be given soldiers of Madras and Bombay armies to enter Bengal service if desired.

The new native army to be organized on the following principles :—

(1) Men of all respectable castes admitted in fair proportion, but neither Brahmins nor Syuds in too large numbers.

(2) To proceed wherever ordered, by sea or otherwise.

(3) To be formed into messes of ten men each, one man of good caste selected as cook or caterer.

(4) Armed with muskets and fusils, not requiring greased cartridges.

(5) When not employed on military duty, to serve as sappers and pioneers, extra *batta* being given.

(6) Each native infantry regiment to consist of not more than 600 men, under one commandant, four officers of companies, one adjutant and quartermaster, one serjeant-major, and one quartermaster-sergeant; with one native commissioned officer for each company, and the usual proportion of non-commissioned rank.

(7) Promotion to rank of native officer not to be by seniority, as formerly, but deserving havildars to be occasionally promoted from other regiments.

(8) When necessary to supersede an old havildar, that he be permitted to retire on half-pay, with the rank of Jemadar, to recruit for the regiment in his native village.

(9) That no European officer be appointed to a company who has not passed the Urdu examination, nor any be eligible who has not passed as interpreter (after a specified date), for the position of commandant or adjutant.

(10) That no officer be appointed to a native corps who has not attained the age of twenty-one, or has not been thoroughly instructed in drill and discipline with an European regiment.

(11) Pay of European commandant to be not less than £1,000; adjutant and quartermaster £600; officers of companies (exclusive of allowance for repairs of arms) £400, increasing according to rank and service to £600 or more.

In regular cavalry, *if still kept up*, each regiment to consist of three squadrons, each troop to be commanded by an European officer (the senior holding squadrons), and one supernumerary officer attached to each squadron in the field. In the irregular

cavalry, one commandant, one second in command, and one adjutant, appear sufficient.

The pay of officers of regular cavalry to be one-fourth more than the infantry, and that of irregular cavalry one-third above infantry scale; but no officer to be appointed to the latter who has not passed as interpreter, or is not noted as a good horseman, or skilled in military exercises.

The dress of the whole native army to be made more suitable to the climate and habits of the men.

The concluding portion treats of the medical staff to be attached to each regiment, and of the improvement of the schools already established in many regiments for the children of Christian bandsmen; these latter were to be extended and the Sepoys encouraged to attend them.

In reference to the above memorandum Sir Charles writes :—

OSBORNE, *Aug.* 18th, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I have read your letters and the papers which accompanied them, with all the interest which they excite and deserve.

They are very valuable to me, as instructing me upon a subject of which I am very ignorant, but which is certainly the paramount subject of the day, and which must before long engross the chief attention of statesmen.

Your military plan has much that is good in it, and the chief points to which I should have objected would be the appearance of promotion, as it were, from the European regiments to the native—the reason for this is evidently the acquirement of a proficiency in the native languages, but unless you gave some material advantage in pay, or advantages to these corps, you would not, I think, induce young men to undergo this extra trouble for the purpose of commanding Indians instead of Englishmen—and if you do make the commissions in the native

service more valuable, I think you would create great jealousy. The selection for civil and political employment from the staff corps, would, I fear, not only open the door to much jobbery, but would take all your best men from the department in which it is most necessary to retain them. . . . But my opinion is, and I believe it is one that is very generally spreading, that, now that it is necessary that the army in India should be, in a very large proportion, composed of Europeans—that is, of Englishmen—it is impossible that the lives, the reputation, and the *prestige* of British armies should any longer be left under the control and government of the East India Company. The anomaly, even whilst the Indian army consisted of natives, and the white regiments were the exception, was a very startling one, and the system certainly has not, in point of experience, worked well—indeed, the constant jealousies between the Royal and Company's officers was in itself a sufficient practical difficulty ; but it appears to me impossible, *speaking solely and entirely for myself*, to justify, in any way, the raising of a large British army, to serve anybody but the Queen.

There appears to me to be objections to such a system—constitutional, economical, political, and moral—that render it quite impossible to be continued. It does not require much argument, I think, to prove that it is not likely that the directors of the East India Company should be very able military administrators, and it is well known how little power is entrusted to the Commander-in-Chief in India. The system has been an enormous command of patronage, exercised at a distance, and the local administration of the army has never been entrusted to the Commander-in-Chief in India, whilst by staff and civil appointments, those who remain in the ranks of the army are divided into two classes—the expectants of employment, and consequent seekers of patrons ; and the disappointed and discontented.

I feel confident, from what I hear and see around, that the rule of the Company is doomed ; and though I am aware that the subject is a most delicate and most difficult one, with which I am wholly incompetent to grapple, I am equally convinced that the only problems now to be solved are the how and the when.

The other question upon which you touch—the missionary efforts to convert the native population—is one of at least equal

difficulty. . . . No one, I think, can object to the voluntary efforts of missionaries and their parent societies, . . . but, in the first place, great care must be taken that these attempts are not, in any degree, combined or mixed up with your acts of government, or any display of your power. You, *as a Government*, are not entitled to deal with them, as a people, upon this subject. . . . Private, devout and earnest individuals may at their own cost and hazard endeavour to win individuals . . . to Christianity; but they must do this with a proper regard for the feelings, however erroneous, of those whom they attack, or take the consequences. . . . The burthen of this lecture* is, throughout, the direct interference of the Almighty in the work of His mission. This is a most dangerous doctrine, but a very common one amongst very earnest religious men. It is evident that what God personally does, or marks His approval of, cannot be wrong; and if, therefore, they can only attain assent to their assertion, it necessarily follows that whatever they do is right. To carry on the greatest work of life, reason, as well as zeal, is requisite. . . . In short, when we attempt to eradicate the frightful superstitions of the Hindoos, we must take care that the pure religion which we give them in return is not blurred with the slightest shade of superstition.

. . . . If this mutiny has not originated in a religious feeling, excited by the Brahmins, have you any idea *upon what it is founded*? The Sepoys did not appear to have brought forward any complaint as to their treatment as soldiers; there does not appear to have been any political element in it, at least, no political object has been declared; but *if* a general idea has been given the natives that there was an extended intention to break down their differences of caste, and to press upon them a change of religion, I cannot but think that the work of conversion, holy and commendable in itself, necessary, and ultimately certain in its success, has not at present been carried on with the necessary delicacy and discretion.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

* An Address given by Mr. Clark, missionary at Peshawur, which Login had forwarded to Sir C. Phipps.

To the first objection to his military scheme contained in this letter—viz., The appearance of promotion from the European to the native army—Login replies :—

That it was necessary that officers in native regiments should be conversant with the language, and have had training in a European corps; because they were good linguists, it did not follow that they were better military men than their fellows.

To the second objection, viz.,—That without some material advantage, in pay or otherwise, young men would not be induced to undergo the extra trouble, &c., he says :—

“According to the scheme, they receive one-fourth more pay, are able to live more economically, *but rise by seniority.*” In the European corps they would rise more rapidly by purchase. There would not be the rush for the staff corps that Sir Charles anticipated, owing to the early age at which the choice must be made, the slower promotion, and the extra examinations. After the period of probation, there would be a second examination for staff duties. Officers belonging to the military branch of the staff corps were to be eligible for adjutant-general, quartermaster-general, and surveyor's departments, guide corps, judge-advocate's department, commissariat, pay, audit, clothing departments, and military police; those of the civil branch for public works, political, revenue, and judicial departments; their pay to be one-fourth more than regimental officers of the native army.

With regard to the causes of the Mutiny, Login says :—

“From the confidence reposed in the fidelity of the Sepoys, the Government had allowed them to outnumber the European troops in undue proportion, had entrusted them with the protection of its arsenals and magazines, and instructed them carefully in all military duties. To attach them to our service, pensions had been granted to them on retirement from age or incapacity, and

to their widows and orphans, in the event of their death in the field. They were encouraged, more than any other class, to attach high importance to caste observances, pampered in all their prejudices by concessions of every kind, and enabled to make these prejudices profitable to them in many ways. They were carefully excluded from any instruction except through the drill-sergeant, and the slightest interference with their habits, or attempt to remove their ignorance and superstition, were viewed by the military authorities with the greatest distrust." The "greased cartridges" was only a rallying cry, which served for Hindoos and Mahomedans alike; the real causes of the Mutiny were the sense that the introduction of education, railways, and telegraphs into India, and the suppression of immoral practices, would interfere with their caste prejudices *in time*, so that they ought to make a stand *now*; while, on the other hand, "they considered their loyalty to be of the last importance to us, attributed most of the attentions on the part of Government to a consciousness of their power, and believed that we held dominion in India on their sufferance alone!" They also resented the enlistment of new recruits for general service, and of Sikhs and Punjabis; while the finishing stroke was the annexation of Oude, since, as long as Oude was under a native ruler, their families and homes (by special agreement with the British Government) were exempt from taxation, but this privilege ceased on the annexation of the country. These grievances were felt by the older Hindostani Sepoys, who were chiefly recruited in Oude, and, as they could not be taken up generally, nothing was said of them, and the cry of the "greased cartridges" served the purpose of the ringleaders most admirably, and enabled them, through the bigoted ignorance and superstition which, with so much infatuation, the Government had *fostered* in the native army, to get up an alarm for their religion and caste.

Login was of opinion that the elevation of the Great Mogul to his ancestral throne was due to the impetuosity of the Mahomedan mutineers of the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut, and that it introduced an element into the future proceedings of the mutineers, which saved us from more extended defection, and gave us allies who might otherwise have been opposed to us. As to the ignorance of the English officers of the disaffection of their troops, it seems probable

that those who were best affected to their officers would be afraid to be seen by their more violent comrades communicating with them, and even the havildars, or native officers, whose *duty* it was to give in the usual reports, would be afraid to give more than a distant hint that "the men were greatly alarmed that the Government were going to make them Christians *by obliging them to bite greased cartridges*." This report would probably be received by the officer with a good-humoured laugh, and perhaps a quizzical joke on the occasion, which the havildar would *appear* to enjoy as much as any one, and then go away, quite satisfied in his own conscience that he had given as much warning as he could do without risk to himself, in this life or the next, leaving the Englishman to tell his brother officer, "What *spoons* these Sepoys were!" "I earnestly trust," says Login, "that as our present contest in India is for a higher purpose than merely the protection of our commerce and our territorial rule—for truth against error, Christian civilization against barbarism—the manner in which we conduct it, and the use we make of our victories, may rise with the occasion."

Sir Charles Phipps, in a long letter from Balmoral, dated September 2nd, 1857, discusses fully the subject-matter of the last memorandum, but want of space prevents more than a few quotations.

I have to thank you for your most interesting letter and enclosure of August 28th. It would be the height of foolish presumption, were I to attempt to argue upon Indian subjects with you; indeed my objections are more calculated to draw out from you rejoinders by which I may profit and obtain information than to be of themselves of any value. Writing from myself, and without consulting any better locally informed authority, I can found my opinions only upon general principles, and their local application must of course depend much upon Indian peculiarities. . . . I see many practical difficulties in the *details* of your plan. I will put a case. Two officers enter the European Indian army at the same time; one is detached upon active duty, which leaves him no time for study of languages for several months; the other, re-

maintaining at a stationary quarter, has little to do and applies himself diligently to study the native languages. If they both intend to compete for the superior service, which alone leads to better emoluments and greater distinction, it is evident that the one who has been in his early service the most employed, and consequently the most useful, will, *cæteris paribus*, be always toiling in vain after him who was left in ease and inactivity. . . . With regard to the staff corps, I quite think that the formation of such a corps is very desirable, and that you will find in it many materials, which, particularly in India, will be very useful. . . . I await with anxiety your opinion on the last intelligence from India. I do not see what reason we have to expect any more favourable, nor do I understand any disappointment at Delhi not having fallen into the hands of that little army, which had long been waiting for reinforcements, which had not yet arrived. . . . The real direction in which, as it appears to me, we must point our most anxious looks, is to the firmness and fidelity of the other two Presidencies, and one cannot but fear, as time passes on, that the temptations offered may be undermining their fidelity.

. . . . I fear that you will have cause to regret the wet day that has given me time to inflict such a letter upon you.

I have by the Queen's direction ordered a clock to be sent down, which Her Majesty would wish to be presented, from her, to the Maharajah, but I will write upon a different sheet.

Ever sincerely yours,

C. B. PHIPPS.

In reply to Colonel Phipps' argument, stated as a hypothetical case of two young officers, one on active service, the other in cantonments, Sir John Login says :—

"I would by no means make proficiency in a critical knowledge of the languages a criterion of qualifications either for the native army or for the staff. A knowledge of the language required in a good officer of the native army is colloquial rather than literal, and the chances are that a young officer actively employed in

India on duty, even with European troops, will pick up the colloquial of the country quite as readily as another left in quarters; no one who is unable to do so, and to converse freely with the natives after two years' service in India, should, I think, be eligible either for the native army or staff corps. Higher qualifications in the language than this are not required in the first instance; but before an officer can be eligible for an adjutancy, certainly if not for the command of a native corps, he ought to be able, at least, to read easily, if not to write, the ordinary characters used in native correspondence among his men.

"No literary examination proves a good criterion of a cavalry officer, the hunting field affords the best training for *him*; but for officers of the quartermaster and surveyor-general and judge-advocate departments, the guide corps, commissariat, police, and civil branches, examination in the native language is essential. The adjutant-general's department should not be exclusively recruited from the staff corps, as good regimental officers are essential."

In explaining the position and powers of the Commander-in-Chief in India towards the civil government, with regard to the peculiar functions of the Adjutant-General, Login pointed out that it was incorrect to assume (as Colonel Phipps did) that the late troubles arose from insufficient powers being granted to the Commander-in-Chief, who was appointed by the Horse Guards; that that officer's remonstrances, and desire for reforms in the army, were entirely disregarded by the Governor-General and Council, so that they would not even allow him to inspect Sepoy regiments! This Login showed to be a misconception of the actual state of things, and to support his assertion, referred the question to Sir George Pollock, than whom no higher authority could be found on Indian military matters, and whose friendship and confidence he had enjoyed throughout his career. Sir George's reply is as follows:—

CLAPHAM COMMON, Oct. 10th, 1857.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Sir William Gomm applied to the Supreme Government for postheens and additional winter trousers for the European troops

serving at Peshawur; the Governor-General *in Council* did not see the necessity for this additional clothing for the Europeans, as they had already as much as is allowed in *England*, and declined to provide it. Under ordinary circumstances, such an application would not again have been urged, but Sir W. Gomm passed by the Governor-General, and wrote direct to the Horse Guards or the War Department, urging the necessity of the measure. The Horse Guards ought, at that time, to have known better; they might have consulted several persons who had been at Peshawur, who could have told them that snow *never* fell there; but no! red tape would not brook such a course. Whether the War Department was referred to, I cannot say, but I think it was; however, the Board of Control was written to, and from that quarter an authoritative letter was sent, requiring the consent of the Court of Directors, who—although they were aware of the absurdity of the request—complied.

Sir George also told the following anecdote to show that Commander-in-Chiefs were in the habit of inspecting native troops :—

The commanding officer of a Sikh regiment was exceedingly proud of the manner in which his men went through the bayonet exercise and other evolutions; and their perfect steadiness on parade attracted the admiration of every soldier who saw them. General Anson having visited the station on his tour of inspection, this regiment was paraded before him, but observing that, as is the custom among Sikhs and Punjabis, they wore long beards and moustaches, and tight, unshapely pantaloons, he turned away with the remark, "You call *these* soldiers—how very unmilitary! Look at their pantaloons and their buttons!" and went on to examine some other regiment.

Having been requested to state his views on the best form of Imperial Government for India, Sir John Login

drew up an elaborate scheme which contained, amongst others, the following suggestions :—

(1) That the Government of India at home be entrusted to a Cabinet Minister (preferably a Peer of the Realm with some personal knowledge of India), assisted by a Council, of which he should be President, and as such be responsible to Parliament for their proceedings. (2) That there should be a Vice-President of the Council (under-Secretary of State), a member of the House of Commons, to be removed from office on change of Ministry. (3) That the Indian Council consist of twelve persons, of whom two-thirds be carefully selected by the Ministry for the time being, for their knowledge of Indian affairs, and the remaining one-third represent the commerce and manufactures of the country. (4) That those appointed by the Minister should be permanent, and placed in a position as independent as the judges; not allowed to hold seats in Parliament, or be directors of any commercial company; that the commercial members be appointed for five years by the Ministry, from lists submitted to them by the Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom and by the Board of Trade; no restrictions as to seats in Parliament to apply to these latter members. (5) That fixed salaries be allotted to the members of Council; that they be retired at a certain age with pension and honorary rank as members of Council; that the commercial members receive no pension. (6) That the rank of Honorary Member of Council may be conferred on all present directors of Honourable East India Company, on Governors-General, Commander-in-Chiefs and high officials, also on natives of rank and character who may visit England. (7) That two or more members be appointed direct from England to the Legislative Council at Calcutta. (8) That on the restoration of tranquillity in India, a proclamation should be made of the intention of Her Majesty to assume the administrative directly through Her Ministers, after a given date. (9) That members of the Legislative Council be selected from Madras and Bombay as well as Bengal.

The remainder of this scheme dealt chiefly with details of the constitution and powers of the proposed Council for India at home,

and the Legislative Council in India, and of the authority of the first over the second, also with the extent to which the Minister had power to act if opposed to the majority of his Council. It also suggested that an annual statement of Indian affairs be made in both Houses of Parliaments by the responsible Ministers at an early period of the Session, and an annual report be issued in the Blue Book and laid before Parliament, of the "moral and material progress" of India; furthermore, that the utmost latitude be allowed to the Viceroy and his Council, and that the duties of the Minister and Council in England be limited to foreign policy, military arrangements, assimilation of laws and institutions to the spirit of English civilization, as far as local circumstances render expedient, control of the judicial, financial and revenue systems, encouragement of commerce and extension of free trade.

"You will not be surprised," remarks Colonel Phipps, in his voluminous reply dated Balmoral, Sept. 14th, 1857, "that I hesitated and took time to consider before I attempted to enter upon a subject which you have evidently considered so deeply and understand so well as that of the transfer of the supreme power in India from the Directors of the East India Company to the Crown. It is a subject upon which I still feel myself utterly unequal to give an opinion of any value." Further on he says:—"It appears to me that your opinion as to the time most fitted for any change to take place is well grounded. For some time to come, until the fermentation caused by this revolt has subsided, the Government of India must be in an exceptional state, and the new system of rule will grow better out of such a system of transition than from any other more normal state."

On September 28th he writes:—

In answering your letter and accompanying paper of the 24th inst., I must begin by thanking you for the free and unrestrained manner in which you have entered upon the different subjects. Without such sincerity a correspondence such as ours would be a

mere waste of time, for wherever there was a different opinion between us, we should not know whether we were combating with the substance, or only a veiled shadow. . . . Havelock has done very well; his promotion to the rank of major-general has gone out to him. . . . I have confined this letter to the *military* portion of your papers, and you will think that I have given you a pretty sufficient budget for one post! I have never kept copies of *my* letters, and I should be very much obliged to you if you would either let me have the originals to take copies or have copies taken for me—not for their own value, but because *your letters lose some of their value* without those to which they are an answer. . . .

Sept. 29th. Since writing the enclosed I have read the telegram from India. How unsatisfactory!—the same story—creeping progress of the revolt—not a step in advance! Havelock's retreat is most unfortunate, and creates the worst fears for Lucknow, when one considers the daily consumption of men that must be going on, and that no reinforcements of importance can be expected for a month from this time,—it makes one tremble!

III.

BHYROWAL TREATY, 1846.

Articles of Agreement concluded between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and the LAHORE DURBAR, on Dec. 16th, 1846.

Whereas the Lahore Durbar and the principal Chiefs and Sirdars of the State have in express terms communicated to the British Government their anxious desire that the Governor-General should give his aid and assistance to maintain the administration of the Lahore State, during the minority of Maharajah Duleep Singh, and have declared this measure to be indispensable for the maintenance of the Government: And, whereas the Governor-General has, under certain conditions, consented to give the aid and assistance solicited; the following Articles of Agree-

ment, in modification of the Articles of Agreement executed at Lahore on the 11th of March last, have been concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Montgomery Lawrence, C.B., Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Honourable Viscount Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General; and, on the part of His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh, by Sirdar Taj Singh, Sirdar Shere Singh, Dewan Deena Nath, Fakeer Noorodeen, Rae Kishen Chund, Sirdar Runjore Singh Majeetheea, Sirdar Shumshere Singh, Sirdar Lal Singh Morareea, Sirdar Kher Singh Sindhanwala, Sirdar Urjun Singh Rungnungee, acting with the unanimous consent and concurrence of the Chiefs and Sirdars of the State assembled at Lahore.

Article I.—All and every part of the Treaty of Peace between the British Government and the State of Lahore, bearing date the 9th day of March, 1846, except in so far as it may be temporarily modified in respect to Clause 15 of the said Treaty by this engagement, shall remain binding upon the two Governments.

Article II.—A British officer, with an efficient establishment of assistants, shall be appointed by the Governor-General to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State.

Article III.—Every attention shall be paid, in conducting the administration, to the feelings of the people, to preserving the national institutions and customs, and to maintain the just rights of all classes.

Article IV.—Changes in the mode and details of administration shall not be made, except when found necessary for effecting the objects set forth in the foregoing clause, and for securing the just dues of the Lahore Government. These details shall be conducted by native officers, as at present, who shall be appointed and superintended by a Council of Regency, composed of leading Chiefs and Sirdars, acting under the control and guidance of the British Resident.

Article V.—The following persons shall, in the first instance,

constitute the Council of Regency—viz., Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Shere Singh Attarewala, Dewan Deena Nath, Fakeer Noorooddeen, Sirdar Runjore Singh Majeetheea, Bhaee Nidham Singh, Sirdar Utter Singh Kaleewala, Sirdar Shumshere Singh Sindhanwala; and no change shall be made in the persons thus nominated without the consent of the British Resident, acting under the orders of the Governor-General.

Article VI.—The administration of the country shall be conducted by this Council of Regency in such manner as may be determined on by themselves, in consultation with the British Resident, who shall have full authority to direct and control the duties of every department.

Article VII.—A British force of such strength and numbers, and in such positions as the Governor-General may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharajah and the preservation of the peace of the country.

Article VIII.—The Governor-General shall be at liberty to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore territories, the occupation of which may be deemed necessary by the British Government for the security of the capital, or for maintaining the peace of the country.

Article IX.—The Lahore State shall pay to the British Government twenty-two lakhs of new Nanuk Shahee rupees, of full tale and weight per annum, for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government; such sum to be paid by two instalments, or thirteen lakhs and 20,000 in May or June, and eight lakhs and 80,000 in November or December of each year.

Article X.—Inasmuch as it is fitting that Her Highness, the Maharanee, the mother of Maharajah Duleep Singh, should have a proper provision made for the maintenance of herself and dependents, the sum of one lakh and 50,000 rupees shall be set apart annually for that purpose, and shall be at Her Highness's disposal.

Article XI.—The provisions of this engagement shall have effect

during the minority of His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh, and shall cease and terminate on His Highness attaining the full age of sixteen years, or on the 4th of September of the year 1854, but it shall be competent to the Governor-General to cause the arrangement to cease at any period prior to the coming of age of His Highness, at which the Governor-General and the Lahore Durbar may be satisfied that the interposition of the British Government is no longer necessary for maintaining the Government of His Highness the Maharajah.

This Agreement, consisting of eleven Articles, was settled and executed at Lahore by the Officers and Chiefs and Sirdars above-named, on the 16th day of December, 1846.

TEJ SINGH.

SHERE SINGH.

DEWAN DEENA NATH.

FAKEER NOOROODEEN.

RAE KISHEN CHUND.

RUNJORE SINGH.

UTTER SINGH.

F. CURRIE.

H. M. LAWRENCE.

BHAE NIDHAM SINGH.

SIRDAR KHAN SINGH.

SHUMSHERE SINGH.

LAL SINGH MOI REEA.

KHER SINGH.

URJUN SINGH.

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